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CONTENTS

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ALBANIA

Rugova Welcomes 'Increasing U.S. Presence' *[Editorial Report]* 1
Further on Kosovo *[Tirana TV]* 1
Rightist League Urges 'Decisive Blow' to Serbs *[Tirana Radio]* 2
Finance Minister Hails Debt Settlement Agreement *[KOHA JONE 28 Jul]* 2
Assembly Approves Bill on Sale, Purchase of Land *[Tirana TV]* 3
Party Leaders React *[Editorial Report]* 3
'Dissidents' Voted Against *[GAZETA SHQIPTARE 29 Jul]* 3

BULGARIA

BSP's Videnov Addresses National Conference *[Sofia Radio]* 5

SLOVAKIA

Cabinet Discusses Unfreezing Outstanding Claims *[PRAVDA 26 Jul]* 6
Egyutteles' Duray on Reasons for Apology, Tensions *[NARODNA OBRODA 26 Jul]* 6
Ethnic Hungarian Views Slovak 'Nationalism' *[MAGYAR NEMZET 27 Jul]* 7

HUNGARY

Keleti, Kovacs Comment on U.S. Senate Vote *[Budapest Radio]* 10
Szent-Ivanyi Comments *[NEPSZABADSAG 28 Jul]* 11
Editorial Condemns Vote *[NEPSZABADSAG 28 Jul]* 12

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Stoltenberg: UN Must Negotiate With Serb Leaders *[Oslo AFTENPOSTEN 28 Jul]* 14
EU Mediator Bildt Opposes Military Intervention *[AFP]* 14
Izetbegovic Meets With Iranian Delegation *[Tehran Radio]* 14
Sacirbegovic Denies U.S. Providing Military Aid *[AFP]* 15
Silajdzic Reiterates Denial *[Sarajevo Radio]* 15
Silajdzic Urges Zagreb, Sarajevo To Fight Together *[Zagreb Radio]* 15
HVO, Army Cooperation Viewed *[OSLOBODJENJE 12 Jul]* 16
Bicakcic To Replace Vice President Temporarily *[OSLOBODJENJE 18 Jul]* 16
Sacirbegovic: UN Mission 'Counterproductive' *[Sarajevo Radio]* 18
Commentary Views OIC Rejection of Arms Embargo *[OSLOBODJENJE 27 Jul-3 Aug]* 18
UN Commander on 'Action' Plan for Bihac *[AFP]* 19
ICRC Reports 'Thousands' Displaced *[AFP]* 19
Muslims Continue Offensive *[Belgrade Radio]* 20
Fighting Intensifies, Croats Advance *[AFP]* 20
RS General Staff on Croat Attack *[Banja Luka Radio]* 20
Chetniks Continue 'Bestial Assaults' *[Sarajevo Radio]* 21
Silajdzic Urges Air Strikes *[AFP]* 21
Akashi: Serbs Pledge Pull Out *[AFP]* 21
Radio: Serbs Only 'Regrouping' *[Sarajevo Radio]* 21
UN: 'Very Small Groups' Leave *[AFP]* 22
Army: Serbs Renewing Attack *[AFP]* 22
Army Statement on Occupation of Grahovo, Glamoc *[Belgrade Radio]* 22
Croat Air Force Reportedly Attacking *[SRNA]* 23
Serbs Claim Five-Front Attack *[Belgrade Radio]* 23
Croats Reportedly Burn Villages *[SRNA]* 23
5,000 Serb Refugees Flee *[Banja Luka Radio]* 24
Karadzic Orders Counteroffensive *[Banja Luka Radio]* 24
Army Chief To Carry Out Order *[Belgrade Radio]* 24
Serbs Consolidate Defense *[TANJUG]* 24
Mladic: Serbs To Retake Soon *[Belgrade Radio]* 25
More Refugees Flee to Knin *[AFP]* 25
UN Reports Serb Bombardment *[AFP]* 25
Serbs Report Croat Attacks *[Korenica Radio]* 26
RS Official: Evacuations From Zepa Complete *[TANJUG]* 26
RS Ministers on Refugees *[Sarajevo Radio]* 26
Civilians Still Hiding in Hills *[AFP]* 27
Serbs Reportedly Loot, Burn *[AFP]* 27
Aid Group: Men 'Disappeared' *[AFP]* 28
Mladic: Gorazde 'Should Be Solved Rationally' *[NASA BORBA 28 Jul]* 28
Karadzic Receives U.S. Congressman Hall *[SRNA]* 29
Promises Hall Free Movement for Convoys *[SRNA]* 29
Serbs Claim Muslims Block Aid *[Belgrade Radio]* 29
Bosnian Serbs Call For New Peace Conference *[SRNA]* 30
Serb Government Holds Emergency Session 29 Jul *[SRNA]* 30
Issues State of War Declaration *[SRNA]* 30
Claims West Lenient With Croatia *[SRNA]* 31
Condemns Croatian 'Aggression' *[Banja Luka Radio]* 31
Requests FRY Protection *[FONET]* 31
Krajisnik Views Declaration of State of War *[Banja Luka Radio]* 32
Denounces Tribunal, Discusses Gorazde *[NASA BORBA 28 Jul]* 32
Abdic: Separation From Sarajevo Definite *[SRNA]* 33
Abdic Liberates Villages Near Velika Kladusa *[SRNA]* 33

CROATIA

Akaski Meets Tudjman, Martic; Seeks Mediation 34
Urges Croatian Restraint *[TANJUG]* 34
Says Croats Prepare Assault *[TANJUG]* 34
Agrees With Martic *[Belgrade Radio]* 34
Martic Explains Plan *[Korenica Radio]* 34
Tudjman Rejects Proposal *[Zagreb TV]* 35
Akashi: Serbs Ready To Negotiate *[AFP]* 36
Iran's Velayati Meets Croatian, Bosnian Ministers *[Tehran TV]* 36
Zubak Details Croat Offensive; Gives Reasons *[Zagreb TV]* 37
Interior Minister Briefs Tudjman on Security *[Zagreb Radio]* 37
Martic Demands Tudjman Be Tried for War Crimes *[Belgrade Radio]* 38
Martic Letter to UN *[Belgrade Radio]* 38
Army Can Prevent Advances *[Korenica Radio]* 38
Comments on Attacks *[Petrinja Radio]* 39
RSK Politician: War With Croatia 'Inevitable' *[DNEVNIK 26 Jul]* 39
Mrksic Protests to UN Over Croatian Attacks *[Korenica Radio]* 40
Krajina Military Takes Civilian Defense Steps *[Petrinja Radio]* 40
RSK Assembly Discusses Western Slavonia Further *[Petrinja Radio]* 41
Approves Dialogue With Croatia *[Belgrade Radio]* 41
Adjourns Due to Crisis *[Belgrade Radio]* 41
RSK Supreme Defense Council Convenes in Knin 42
Declares 'State of War' *[Belgrade Radio]* 42
Introduces Curfew *[Belgrade Radio]* 42
Claims Defense Lines 'Stable' *[Belgrade Radio]* 42
Orders Men To Report *[SRNA]* 42
Forms State Information Pool *[Petrinja Radio]* 42
Army, Bosnian Troops Resume Attacks on Krajina *[Belgrade Radio]* 43
Serb Radio Reports Army Attacks From Grahovo *[Petrinja Radio]* 43
Commentary on Goal of Army Operations at Grahovo *[SLOBODNA DALMACIJA 28 Jul]* 43

THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

Albanian Parliament Members Visit Republic *[FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT 12 Jul]* 45
PDP Leaders Discuss Issues With Van der Stoel *[FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT 20 Jul]* 46

POLAND

Walesa To Send Privatization Law to Tribunal *[Warsaw TV]* 48
Press on Mazowiecki Quitting, U.S. Senate Vote *[Editorial Report]* 48
Arms Theft Leads to Firings, Tightened Security *[Warsaw Radio]* 49

ROMANIA

Officials Meet With Slovakia's Meciar, Delegation *[PRAVDA 27 Jul]* 50

SLOVENIA

Talks With U.S. Delegation Assessed 'Favorably' *[Ljubljana Radio]* 52
Replacement of Army Commander Postponed Until Autumn *[Ljubljana Radio]* 52

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

Washington Denies Arming Bosnian Muslims *[TANJUG]* 53
U.S. Avoids Official Condemnation of Zagreb *[TANJUG]* 53
Great Britain Seen Threatening Bosnian Serbs *[TANJUG]* 53
Government Condemns Croatian 'Aggressive Behavior' *[TANJUG]* 54

Lilic Addresses Officers at Promotion Ceremony 54
Favors Urgent B-H Talks *[TANJUG]* 54
Comments on Lifting Sanctions *[Belgrade Radio]* 55
Kontic on Lifting Sanctions, Halting Hostilities *[Belgrade TV]* 56
Supreme Defense Council Views Regional Situation *[TANJUG]* 56
Statistics Institute Reports 49 Percent Price Rise *[Belgrade TV]* 56

Serbia

U.S. Senate Arms Embargo Decision Condemned *[VECERNJE NOVOSTI 28 Jul]* 56
Milosevic, Stoltenberg Discuss Political Solution *[TANJUG]* 57
Markovic Views Chances for Peace in Bosnia *[PRAVDA 25 Jul]* 57
Democratic Party on Bosnian Conflict Settlement *[Belgrade Radio]* 59

Kosovo

Rugova: Clinton's Commitment 'Very Important' *[KOSOVO DAILY REPORT]* 60

Rugova Welcomes 'Increasing U.S. Presence'

AU3107092495

[FBIS Editorial Report] Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian on 29 July on pages 1 and 3 carries a 1,000-word report by Behar Zogjani on a news conference given by Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Republic of Kosova, in Prishtina on 28 July, under the title, "Kosova Has Not Been Left in the Shade by Bosnia."

Rugova is reported as saying, "During the last week Kosova has remained at the center of attention of diplomatic and governmental circles in the United States and the countries of Europe. We welcome the stand taken by Richard Holbrook, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State, and the U.S. Administration for preventing the conflict from spreading to Kosova and other parts of the Balkans. We also welcome the stand of President Clinton against the conflict spreading southward. This week also saw the U.S. Senate vote on removing the arms embargo against Bosnia, and we take this as a warning addressed to the international community to find peaceful solutions for Bosnia and for the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. President Clinton's commitment to this has been very important for a peaceful solution in the area of the former Yugoslavia. We also ask Russia to respect the interests of all the peoples in the Balkans and to play a more constructive role in accordance with the demands of the times."

Rugova describes the harassment of Albanian political activists by the Serbian authorities in Kosova, and continues, "Under such circumstances, Serbia is continuing its campaign for the colonization of Kosova. By order of the Serbian regime, 121 building lots will be allocated in Istog. Bearing all this in mind, we call for an end to the repression and ask for Kosova to be put under international supervision. The best solution would be an independent and neutral Kosova, open to Albania and Serbia."

Asked by a journalist to comment on "the increasing U.S. presence in Albania," Rugova says, "the U.S. presence is within the framework of normal and ever improving bilateral relations and is also part of Partnership for Peace, of which Albania is a member. We agree with the views of the United States and Albania that these activities are very important for peace.

"Asked to comment on the statement of Serbian President Milosevic, who said that 'Serbia, as a large state in the Balkans, will protect others,' and also asked against whom Serbia might protect the Albanians, Dr. Rugova said that all the peoples in the Balkans can stand on their own feet and live in cooperation with each other; they do not need to be defended, but must be allowed to be part of Europe and of European integration. Our policy and that of all the Albanians and the peoples of the Balkans is to work in this spirit.

"The president of the Republic of Kosova stated categorically that Kosova had not been left in the shade by the tragic events in Bosnia, which must not be seen as isolated incidents in the former Yugoslavia and the Balkans. Kosova is on every international diplomatic agenda, and is always brought up together with the demand that the conflict should not spread.

"The resignation of Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the UN special envoy on human rights in the former Yugoslavia, is a message to the international community by the humanist Mazowiecki, who has done a great deal for Kosova and the rights of the peoples of the former Yugoslavia. We would rather that he had not resigned, but this is his personal affair and is a warning to the international community that it is not doing enough for human rights. However, he will be remembered as a man of humanity in the history of the European peoples, Dr. Rugova concluded."

Further on Kosovo

AU2907174395 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1635 GMT 28 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Mr. Iljaz Ramajli, representative of the Republic of Kosova to Albania, was received yesterday by Mr. Vili Minarolli, director of the Directorate on Europe at the Albanian Foreign Ministry.

During the meeting, they exchanged opinions on the current situation in Kosova and the region, and discussed other issues of bilateral interest.

They both agreed that the situation in Kosova is extremely grave and tense. On this occasion, they underlined that such a situation requires an active commitment by domestic and international subjects to justly resolving the issue of Kosova and preventing the situation from escalating into a crisis that may endanger peace and security in the region.

They both expressed their satisfaction over the work of the office of the Republic of Kosova and a mutual readiness to establish cooperation in the fields of common interest, the Press and Information Section at the office of the Republic of Kosova reports.

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Rightist League Urges 'Decisive Blow' to Serbs

AU2807182195 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 28 Jul 95

[Statement by the Albanian Rightist League issued on 28 July; place not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Albanian Rightist League has distributed a statement today regarding events in Bosnia, noting among other things that if mankind is aware of what is happening there, it should be said that the tragedy of a people is quickly assuming universal dimensions. The United Nations, NATO, the European Community, and the Council of Europe are withdrawing before Serbs, thus losing their values as defense structures of peace and democracy. Serbs are challenging the entire world. They should rapidly withdraw and face trial. Their military machine should get a rapid and decisive blow; otherwise, world peace would become prey to criminal aggressors. It is completely certain that after finishing with Bosnia, the Serbs will incite a war for ethnic cleansing in Kosova, thus throwing the Balkans and Europe into a conflict.

The Albanian Rightist League greets and supports the Albanian Government statement of 26 July 1995 and invites the People's Assembly to declare its own position on this issue of vital importance.

Finance Minister Hails Debt Settlement Agreement

AU2907175995 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 28 Jul 95 p 11

[Report by Altin Hazizaj on news conference by Finance Minister Dylber Vrioni in Tirana on 27 July: "Albania Without Foreign Debts After 30 August"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "Albania will have no more foreign debts after 30 August." This was announced by Dylber Vrioni, deputy prime minister and finance minister, in his opening speech at a news conference in the Palace of Congresses yesterday, a few minutes after he had signed on behalf of the Albanian Government an agreement to clear its $500 million foreign debt.

"This success does not belong only to the government and the members of the cabinet, but is a success for the entire Albanian people," Mr. Vrioni said at the news conference, where he was accompanied by 21 people, mostly representatives of the foreign banks who were the communist government's creditors. Mr. Vrioni and the group accompanying him arrived at the Palace of Congresses and appeared before journalists 20 minutes late, but his enthusiasm over signing the agreement, the most successful in the Albanian Government's three-year history, led him to forget to offer an apology. He was accompanied by Mr. Schwarzenberg, the representative of the German Federal Bank and of the Commission for the Renegotiation of the Albanian Foreign Debt.

"It was very difficult for us to agree to make certain sacrifices in connection with this debt," Mr. Schwarzenberg said to KOHA JONE, "but after looking at all possible ways of so' ing the problem, we made this decision. You cannot swallow an apple whole, because you will choke; you eat it slowly."

The agreement reached at midday yesterday between the Albanian state and the Commission for the Renegotiation of the Albanian Foreign Debt, made up of representatives of the 41 banks to whom the communist government left debts, which were then continually increased by the Meksi government, involves the clearance of this debt by 30 August 1995.

Thanks to lengthy talks among the parties concerned, it was agreed that the Albanian state will pay off $100 million before the end of August, while the remaining $400 million will be cleared during a period of 30 years. But how will these debts be cleared? This is where the foreign banks are making sacrifices. These banks will buy U.S. Treasury Bonds, which are currently at a low price, with the $100 million that the Albanian Government will pay immediately. It is thought that their value will have risen after 30 years, and the European banks will realize the profits they have missed.

However, can the Meksi government clear a $100-million debt by the end of August? The foreign debt will be paid into the Charterhouse Bank in London, and, according to Finance Minister Vrioni, it will be paid on time. "The Meksi government has been punctilious in its borrowing," he said at the news conference.

"According to some preliminary agreements that we have reached," Mr. Vrioni continued, "we have been able to secure free support of $25 million from the World Bank, 35 million ECUs from the EU, $11 million from the IMF, and the remainder from the Swiss Government and from Scandinavian countries. As you see, all these settlements are being financed from abroad."

"I think that the final clearance of this debt," Mr. Schwarzenberg continued, "opens visions of future development for Albania. I personally think that these banks that waived this debt will earn much more in this country if they start investing, and according to my knowledge they have already prepared their plans. The more Albania develops, the more we will have interests here."

Despite the signing of yesterday's agreement, the Albanian Government still cannot be considered debt-free.

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Part of Albania's foreign debt is to former communist countries and amounts to about $200 million, but it will be possible to clear this after many years.

Assembly Approves Bill on Sale, Purchase of Land

AU2807140995 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 27 Jul 95

[Report by Timo Luto]

[FBIS Translated Text] Our reporter, Gezim Qinami, who follows parliamentary problems, has just reported over the telephone that the bill on sale and purchase of land was discussed and approved, article by article, and in general, with 60 votes for, 11 against, and three abstentions.

The former owners will not be affected by this law, as according to it, the state is prohibited from selling state property without compensating the former owners in kind with a piece of land.

The People's Assembly proceedings are continuing.

Party Leaders React

AU3007172095

[FBIS Editorial Report] The Albanian press on 28 July carries reports on reactions to the approval of the Land Sale and Purchase Law by the People's Assembly on 27 July.

Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian carries on page 4 a 300-word item by M.L., under the title "Rrapo Danushi, Chairman of the Property With Justice Association, Speaks for KOHA JONE," in which Danushi states, "I consider the approval of the law to be national treason, because it paves the way for the Greek and Serbian chauvinists to achieve their aim of buying up Albanian land. It is a final legitimization of the communist reforms. It is an unprecedented national crime comparable only to the isolation of Albania, the class war, and genocide. It is the final national burial of the aspirations of the Albanians of Kosovo and Cameria. It intentionally incites fratricide between legitimate landowners and the peasantry, who will hasten to sell the land seized from its owners by today's neocommunist government." Danushi states, "We will continue our struggle and will not disband our association, because those deputies who strutted like turkey-cocks today will emerge from the next elections like sodden hens."

Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian carries on page 3 a 300-word report by Arian Cani, under the title, "Godo: 'They Will Soon Realize Their Mistake.'" The report states, "Republican leader Sabri Godo voiced his despair at the approval of the bill. 'I thank the Democratic Party,' he said, 'for keeping me all the time outside this parliament, where unimaginable things happen.' Godo called the deputies 'sleepyheads,' and said, 'They will realize very quickly what they have done today.' The Republican leader continued, 'The Democratic Party and the Socialist Party competed with each other to see who would defend most ardently this bill that will plunge Albania into anarchy.' Godo commented ironically on the atmosphere of yesterday's session: 'It was all done in the midday heat. Parliament was virtually asleep, although summoned by a total mobilization order that had mustered even ministers who almost never darken its doorstep.' Godo later said with surprise, 'It is hard to find such a parliament acting with such irresponsibility over such a major national issue.'"

The report continues: "Social Democratic leader Skender Gjinushi and his parliamentary group voted against the bill. Gjinushi said, 'Those in power before and after 1992 who obtained land illegally will profit from this.'"

Referring to "Hajdin's hole," dug in the center of Tirana in 1992 by Hajdin Sejdia, a businessmen now imprisoned for fraud in Switzerland, and which was originally intended to contain the foundations of a hotel, Gjinushi said, "The interests of the former landowners were buried there."

'Dissidents' Voted Against

AU3107115095 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 29 Jul 95 p 3

[Report by I.La.: "Lloshi : With What Sort of Money Will the Land Be Bought?"]

[FBIS Translated Text]

The Democratic Party Dissident: Heba—'Why I Voted Against It'

Even Democratic Party [PD] deputies voted against the bill on the sale and purchase of land. Although it was this party that launched this bill, some of its deputies did not support it. PD deputy Emanuel Heba delivered a strongly worded speech against approving the bill. He came out against his party, preferring to defend the interests of those who gave him their votes.

"Why did you vote against this bill?"

"I was also against the Land Law. It was a populist law, inspired by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. It is one of the most undemocratic laws this parliament has approved. It fails to defend the interests of the minority. The peasants of the constituency I represent, whether owners or not, do not agree with this law."

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"Are you standing out against the program of your party?"

"I respect the party that made me a deputy, but I cannot go against myself," Heba said.

The PS Dissidents

There were also Socialist deputies against the Land Purchase and Sale Bill. A number of Socialist Party [PS] deputies joined the right wing in voting against it. For Eurosocialist Pandeli Majko the reason for his opposition was simple: "I vote against whenever the PD brings in ultra-leftist bills," he said.

Another reason led Socialist deputy Xhevat Lloshi to oppose the Land Purchase and Sale Bill. "Land can now be bought without restriction," he told GAZETA SHQIPTARE. "But with what sort of money? This sort of money looks suspicious to me today."

"Was this the only reason?"

"I must add something else," Lloshi said, "I am not against the reform, but I voted against the bill under today's specific circumstances. I think this ought to be seen as a moral problem of the reform. It was another regime that restricted the rights of large landowners who had honestly bought their land. The present law does not anticipate that purchase should be restricted. Who can buy so much land, and with what sort of money? Such large sums of money are suspicious to me."

"Are you not going against your parliamentary group?" we asked.

"No," Lloshi said, "Bashkim Koci, another Socialist deputy, also voted against. We do not act as a bloc like the PD does, with Bashkim Kopliku pushing the buttons of deputies who are not present. I cannot consider myself a button to be pressed by someone else when he likes."

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BSP's Videnov Addresses National Conference

AU2807114595 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 28 Jul 95

[Report by Liliyana Yancheva on opening of All-Party Conference of Bulgarian Socialist Party in the National Palace of Culture in Sofia—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] The conference opened as always with the traditional election of its working bodies, after which BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] leader Zhan Videnov delivered a report on the political situation in the country and the tasks of the BSP as the ruling party. Videnov said that the BSP is ready to cooperate, it will not shirk its responsibilities, and will not permit confrontation. The Democratic Left assumed the government of a country with a ruined economy, in a state of legislative, structural, and cadre collapse, and with society exhausted. The BSP is the only political force that is represented in all the regions of the country among all sections of the population, he said.

Videnov said that the party will stabilize its positions if it wins the local elections. He added that the party must urge the parliamentary group toward dialogue, not toward confrontation, and urge the government toward a more intensive social dialogue. According to Videnov, the BSP is losing by not maintaining close contact with the media. One of the problems facing the Democratic Left at the moment is to ensure stability in the country, Videnov said.

The BSP and the state institutions have not yet managed to overcome the confrontation between them, Videnov said, but the BSP has the chance to impose a more flexible policy to overcome this confrontation. According to Videnov, the president has pretensions to act as judge of the politicians [passage indistinct]. Videnov said that recently the BSP has been criticized for its cadre policy, but it is the only party that [words indistinct], although it has not fully shaken off its red past. Our party is threatened by bureaucratism, Videnov warned, but the BSP's main task at the moment is to win the local elections, which it is entering as the strongest and best-organized party.

At the moment Doncho Konakchiev [deputy prime minister] is delivering a report on regional policies and local self-government. A news conference is to take place some time after 1300, in which Videnov and Konakchiev will take part. Later on, the delegates will begin debates on the two main congress documents.

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Cabinet Discusses Unfreezing Outstanding Claims

AU2907160995 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 26 Jul 95 p 3

[Report by Nora Sliskova: "Two Classified Documents Discussed"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratislava — Yesterday, the government discussed two classified documents on unfreezing the outstanding Slovak state claims abroad. Government spokesman Tomas Hasala said that these are extremely sensitive problems, the details of which cannot be published.

A report on the progress of the collection and also an original proposal regarding their unfreezing were presented at the government session by Deputy Prime Minister Sergej Kozlik. The Slovak claims abroad represent 74 billion Slovak korunas (Sk) in 30 different countries, 70 percent of which is in the Russian Federation. Most of the remaining 30 percent is in 10 other countries. According to Hasala, the state budget assumes implementation of the collection plan. Approximately Sk2.5 billion should be collected this year. In this context, the spokesman also stated that the dynamics of the collection on claims — most of which date back to the time of the federation — should substantially grow in the future.

In the absence of several cabinet members, the government approved a draft of a verbal note of the Slovak Permanent Mission at the Council of Europe concerning capital punishment. Therein, the Permanent Mission is turning to the Council of Europe on behalf of the Slovak Government with a request that the issue of capital punishment be reassessed because of the unabating number of major crimes (Council of Europe member countries are under obligation not to apply capital punishment — ed. note). According to Hasala, this step is in harmony with the government policy statement and the election programs of the coalition parties Slovak National Party and Movement for a Democratic Slovakia. To our question of whether the government will respect the binding Council of Europe regulations, and not amend the Constitution of the Slovak Republic even if the response is negative, the spokesman replied that it is premature to comment on such a possibility. He assured us, however, that the government will respect the decision and the regulations of this institution. [passage omitted]

The cabinet also dealt with a report on regional and ethnic culture. According to the Culture Ministry spokesman, the report outlines the basis for a more efficient use of funds provided from the state budget to create equal conditions for all citizens in the development of their identity and native tongue.

Egyutteles' Duray on Reasons for Apology, Tensions

AU2807133795 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 26 Jul 95 p 12

[Unattributed interview with Egyutteles Chairman Miklos Duray, reprinted from NOVY CAS of 25 July; place and date not given: "M. Duray: Bugar and Nagy Invent Things"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In response to your apology to the United States and the Slovak Government, Bela Bugar said — also on behalf of Laszlo Nagy — that a certain tension exists within the Hungarian Coalition (MK). Could you confirm this? — NOVY CAS No. 171 asked Egyutteles Chairman M. Duray.

[Duray] There are tensions, but of a practical rather than a political nature. After the elections, for instance, when we received from Prime Minister Meciar an invitation to talks, the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement and the Hungarian Civic Party turned him down. So, as a coalition partner, we relented and no talks took place. That caused a certain tension in the MK. Another instance of it may have been my meeting with Vladimir Meciar, when I tried to convince him to meet with the entire MK. This actually occurred on 19 June 1995. This also explains my allegedly secret meeting with the prime minister. Some anxiety arose also from the refusal on the part of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement to participate in the organization of our common deputies club — which, according to our coalition agreement, it was supposed to do. Nevertheless, they refused and declared that they will not honor this part of the coalition agreement. There have not been any other tensions.

[NOVY CAS] Have you discussed your apology with Bugar and Nagy?

[Duray] No, there was no time. I was out of Bratislava. You know, what my fellows stated is apparently their own invention. At the talks I attended, no one mentioned that the United States would undertake something against Slovakia in the fall. I have no idea who were Bugar's and Nagy's sources of information. I had to apologize because I am well versed in diplomatic protocol. I know that a politician cannot speak like that. I no longer want to be involved because it is none of my business.

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Ethnic Hungarian Views Slovak 'Nationalism'

AU2807133995 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 27 Jul 95 p 16

[Article by Bertalan Revesz: "Nationalism, the Slovak Way — Will the Cleansing Wind of Europeanism Sweep It Out?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Political scientists explain the current virulent nationalism of East-Central Europe with the fact that, during its four and a half decades of rule, the bygone bolshevik dictatorship, spurred by frantic homogenization efforts, drastically suppressed and even eliminated differences, individualist traits, national characteristics, the natural expressions of the soul, and the emotional bonds without which the intellect cannot soar free and without which life is not worth living. In other words, the emerging self-consciousness and independence efforts of the nations and sections of nations brought about our region's nationalism, which has raged since the change of regime. This can be supported by facts and the issue can be further elaborated....

However, being member of a national minority [author lives in Nyitragerencser, Nitrianske Hrnciarovce, Slovakia], I am interested in a particular aspect of the issue: What is the root of, and what fuels, the current anti-Hungarian atmosphere from Pozsony [Bratislava] to Bucharest and Belgrade, the discriminative and aggressive Romanian, Serbian, and Slovak nationalism that, by now, has reached infernal size?

What are the most obvious driving forces of this infamous "Little Entente attitude" that has been distorted into a psychosis, and is often promoted as a "scientific" theory?

The most serious and constantly repeated accusation is the thousand-year oppression the essence of which can be summarized the following way: "The Hungarians oppressed us for 1,000 years. The time has come to retaliate. To avoid a repetition of it, we must keep the reins short, lest they get out of hand." As a result of the organized lower, medium, and higher education, this is the way the average Slovak citizens think, and so do the members of the Slovak elite: the teachers, priests, scientists, artists, legislators, and ministers. I give my respect to the few exceptions. This outdated and unscientific view has been broadcast, and in fact chanted — for 75 years! — from church pulpits, schools, school books, laws, and authority regulations.

This mentality has well-known infamous creations in almost all areas. I will only mention one of them, the top achievement of the past five years; namely the language law. The mission of the language law already in effect and the future new law that will guarantee the state language is to protect the majority's language and the autonomy of the Slovak language from the Hungarian minority, which suppresses and assimilates the Slovaks — who are in a minority in the Hungarian areas — hinders their national and cultural development, and even endangers their national existence. Be surprised, old Europe! Even the Carpathian basin, which has been through many storms, has not produced such nonsense before! The majority, the stronger one, the one who exercises power, creates guaranteeing laws for its own protection against the minority, who are excluded from the power and from governing.

Believing in the character-forming effect of education, I believe that the current Slovak nationalism was not unexpected. On the contrary, it is an unavoidable consequence of the 75-year school education of the sometimes stronger and sometimes more subdued nationalist mentality, which does not even refrain from unscientific falsifications and deceptions in the humanities.

As long as the geography and history text books and the teachers of these subjects hammer into the Slovak pupils and students the t[illegible]ntious and false information according to which [illegible] Hungarians, entering the Carpathian basin, were a vandal people in hordes who killed, destroyed, and suppressed the native Slovaks and stopped their development; the nomad Hungarians occupied Christian Slovakia (sic!), the first Christian state, destroyed its culture, kept its people in cruel captivity for 1,000 years, and almost eliminated their national existence in the 19th century; during the first republic, the Jewish tradesmen ruthlessly depleted Slovak villages, and the Czechs, carried away by their leading role and superiority, unmercifully threw Slovakia into a semi-colonial state....

As long as student of Slovak history and other humanities are educated from the infamous history books of the past 75 years according to which the Hapsburgs' despotic-monarchic efforts, which would not even want to hear of the independence efforts of the empire's nations, were the main direction of European progress here in the Carpathian basin in the 1840's — rather than the anti-Hapsburg Hungarian opposition or the Hungarian revolution led by Kossuth in 1848-49, and we could carry on listing the similarly intentional biases and unaaceptable views of Slovak history writing — there will be serious problems with the reliability, knowledge, and education of the teachers of humanities. and the quality of their professional value judgments and human behavior.

Rather than the fact that it stems from many sources and has different contents and intensity in various periods — after all, this can be said about any of them — my

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problem with Slovak nationalism is that it is intolerant, aggressive, and extreme.

At the time, many of us were shocked when outstanding sons of the Czech and Slovak people — President Havel and Professor Kusy — were spat at and almost stoned by the nationalist mob in Pozsony's main square. However, this did not worry me too much because such insults can happen anywhere in the world, even in better places, at any time. I am rather alarmed, however, when the country's legislators and leading government newspapers incite national and ethnic conflicts with misleading and incredibly stupid texts that falsify the facts, thus creating the right atmosphere, before a decision or measure of national importance is taken, for it to be brought as desired by them. What is even more astonishing: The people — there could be many of them — who presumably have different views and who, with common sense, would even have something to say, dare not express their views in public, in this unfortunate atmosphere of hatred, which makes a mockery of humanity.

Of course, we have to be aware that Slovak nationalism has gone through significant changes in the past five years, both as regards its appearance and its determination. For a while, it raged in the streets and squares, often created trouble, and was characterized equally by aggressive ostracism and an anti-semitic, anti-Czech, and anti-Hungarian tone. Although it is still carrying remnsnts of this, it is now much more disciplined and purposeful, applying violence only in special situations and only when it gets the go-ahead from above, such as at the time of the change of government last March....

The actual point is that, in the four years since the enactment of the language law, Slovak nationalism has, step by step, raised itself to the governmental and parliamentary level. As our deputies have proved convincingly in the parliamentary debates, the government program, chapter by chapter, exclusively emphasizes (that is, overemphasizes) the Slovak national interests, as if the 12 percent Hungarians and the other national minorities did not even exist. In the government program, the often-mentioned term "state-forming nation," as a legal classification, wishes to make the superiority of the majority nation accepted — against the minorities, placing its interests above theirs.

As the government pompously fires itself with enthusiasm to unscrupulously assert the shortsighted national interests, it does not even want to hear of granting the collective national minority rights that have existed in several European countries for a long time. Instead, unfortunately, it keeps frightening the national minority with absurd theories — often with falsification of historical facts — and anachronistic bills, thus artificially inciting social tension and hatred. The essence of this consciously practiced strategy of the government's is intimidation, and the prevention of Hungarian-Slovak rapprochement and historical conciliation.

The reason current Slovak nationalism is so audaciously determined and hurried is that it can instinctively feel that it only has a relatively short time to implement its goals. The cleansing wind of Europeanism will, sooner or later, sweep out nationalism (the ideological system of the nation state), as outdated junk, because it is a product of the first half of the 19th century. The expected "result" of this presumably short time is made doubtful primarily by the fact that — as they disapprovingly keep saying — "there are still many of us," Hungarians, here where we are an indigenous people. Indeed, there are too many of us to become assimilated within a foreseeable time. However, they are deceitfully quiet about the fact that our numbers have been constantly dropping in the past 75 years and our living space is getting smaller. The following data will indicate the number of Hungarians and Slovaks in Slovakia: The 1920 population census showed 881,326 Hungarians, while in 1980, only 559,801 people called themselves Hungarians. In contrast, the number of Slovaks increased from 1,688,413 to 4,321,139 between 1910 and 1980. Therefore, in the same period, the number of Hungarians decreased by a third and the number of Slovaks increased two and a half times. These numbers alone are crying proof of our people's 75 years of suffering.

The people who find the Hungarian population to be too big are actually dissatisfied with the fact that the proportion of Slovaks is still only 10, 20, or 30 percent in most cities and major towns of southern Slovakia, although after the big devastation (1945), they did all they could (legal deprivation, re-Slovakization, relocation, and deportation) to make the 100 percent Hungarian areas of Cseklesz [Bernolakovo], Forev [Prievoz], and Ligetfalu Slovak. Do they mean that this has not been fully successful? How could it have been successful when no Slovaks, apart from the commissars embodying legal deprivation and the administrators, lived in places like Nagykapos [Velke Kapusany], Kiralyhelmec [Kralovsky Chlmec], Szepsi [Moldava nad Bodvou], Tornalja [Safarikovo], Rimaszombat [Rimavska Sobota], Ipolysag [Sahy], Zselic [Zeliezovce], Parkany [Sturovo], Komarom [Komarno], Nagymegyer [Calovo], Dunaszerdahely [Dunajska Streda], and Somorja [Samorin]? Even the majority of those relocated from Hungary spoke only Hungarian....

It is a cynical denial of historical facts and an insolent mockery of human dignity to question the unsuccessful-

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ness in Slovakia of Czechoslovak laws based on genocide, to say that their moderate results are insufficient, and to conclude from this that the Hungarians have minority rights far exceeding the European standard. Instead of condemning the genocidal rules of the Kassa [Kosice] government program and the presidential decrees, or trying to recompense for the large amount of suffering resulting from them, the current Slovak state leadership is complaining that there are still so many of us, and it is contriving means and methods that are more effective than ever before to annihilate us. All this is in stark contrast with the spirit of Europeanism, and exhausts the notion of inhumanity.

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Keleti, Kovacs Comment on U.S. Senate Vote

LD2807215095 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1630 GMT 28 Jul 95

[From the "Extra" program]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Unidentified correspondent] Whatever happens in Bosnia, it will have no direct impact on the security of Hungary, the state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs said yesterday. However, this morning's papers reported widely—based on foreign media analysis—that the war in the Balkans could spread, following the U.S. Senate's decision to lift the arms embargo against Bosnia. [passage omitted] Our two guests are Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs and Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti. [passage omitted] How do you assess the Senate's decision? [passage omitted] What do you think, Laszlo Kovacs?

[Kovacs] It is a development that causes concern, because this decision, assuming that it is enacted, carries the danger of spreading the conflict. If the Bosnian forces receive more arms, there will be, possibly, a reaction from the other side. The Russian leaders have already said that in this case Russia may supply more arms to Serbia—although Serbia does not much need them because the Yugoslav Army is very well-equipped as it is.

The decision has another consequence: The UN forces will probably leave Bosnia and the entire Yugoslav region. There is another consequence, too: There were hundreds of thousands of deaths annually before the arrival of UN troops, whereas since their arrival the number of deaths has dropped to the scale of thousands annually, and so one can see the kind of dangers this decision involves.

[Correspondent] Do you still place your trust in diplomatic solutions at a time when increasingly the arms call the tune?

[Kovacs] One can only trust diplomatic solutions because I am convinced that there is no military solution to this crisis.

[Correspondent] What is your view, Gyorgy Keleti?

[Keleti] No military conflict has been ended by arms supplies to the region of the conflict. On the contrary, all conflicts in history—in Europe or anywhere else in the world—revived when the protagonists acquired military supplies, fresh weapons. [passage omitted] Since around the end of April, or beginning of May it has been possible to expect that the different sides opposing Bosnia will make the ultimate decision of wanting to attain, with force of arms, the situation favorable to them. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] [Passage omitted] How do you judge the possibility of the escalation of war in terms of size and direction?

[Kovacs] [Passage omitted] None of the sides in the Yugoslav region has an interest in spreading the crisis to the territory of other countries. Naturally, what is essential for us is whether Hungary is threatened by the danger of a kind of large-scale military action. [passage omitted] I, as a foreign policy practitioner, believe that there is no such threat because none of the protagonists has an interest in finding yet another enemy.

Naturally, there is a possible threat of a knock-on effect. Dangers threatening Hungary's security naturally appear together with the broadening of the conflict. We cannot, in any way, avoid the flood of refugees, the economic losses we suffer daily as a result of the economic sanctions, and the trade embargo against Yugoslavia. We cannot prevent the Hungarians living in Vojvodina and elsewhere in the Yugoslav region from falling into a kind of hostage situation, we cannot fully preempt the security risks Hungary may have to face, nor can we deal successfully with those unfavorable effects that are reflected in the image of the entire region—precisely because of the war.

[Correspondent] From a military viewpoint, how large is the danger that may threaten Hungary in any way, and what can Hungary do to counter it?

[Keleti] I state that the Bosnian events do not threaten Hungary from a military viewpoint. [passage omitted] The threat to Hungary could become palpable—and a direct one for the residents of the region—if the Croats launched military operations against the eastern Slavonian territories, because that area is next to the border and in the immediate vicinity of Vojvodina. This, in turn, will allow Vojvodina to become an area of deployment for the Serbian Army—and so the kind of refugee flood that we have just mentioned could arrive in the territory of Vojvodina, too. [passage omitted]

[Passage omitted] All things considered, our job is to stay out of it, both from a diplomatic and a military viewpoint. [passage omitted] It is the result of a very realistic assessment. I think that we do the most, even for the Hungarians beyond the borders, if we very correctly fulfill the UN Security Council decisions, if we do not withdraw our military units from the peacekeeping stations, if we do not demonstrate in a conspicuously determined way that we are in the region—not until it is absolutely necessary.

[Correspondent] Do I understand this correctly? Has Hungary now chosen the kind of military tactics that

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involve Hungary not showing even the slightest indication of preparing for some kind of conflict with arms and mobilization? [passage omitted]

[Keleti] [Passage omitted] I have already spoken about this in parliament in response to an interpellation. After mid-April certain air defense and air activities increased in Serbian and Croatian territories. At the time Hungary acted: It increased the number of planes on alert. In other words, the control of Hungarian airspace was continuous. We will do the same now if the situation were critical, but we must not take any step that could lead to a misunderstanding on the other side.

The most important thing for us is to maintain political contacts. In the military field these contacts exist with Croatia and Serbia—although not with the protagonists in the Bosnian conflict. [passage omitted] In this respect, too, it is undoubtedly true that political means are the most important tool of Hungary's security policy, and that military means must be a last resort security guarantee, but this guarantee is there—I can say this with full responsibility, regardless of what people say about our army.

[Correspondent] [Passage omitted] Are there attempts in Hungary to supply arms to the Yugoslav region? [passage omitted]

[Kovacs] Hungary has always done everything to stop attempts of this kind and has done so successfully. [passage omitted] We must stay clear of this conflict, both in foreign political and military terms, and a precondition for this is to ensure that Hungary cannot be accused of trying to help one side or the other. [passage omitted]

[Keleti] I think that it is worth making public that the Croats, for example, during military negotiations have attempted to establish a certain military cooperation of a closer kind. When, for example, the Hungarian chief of staff met his Croatian colleague recently, he firmly declared, on the one hand, that bilateral military relations could be developed only within the framework of the general political and diplomatic relationship—at least in respect of upgrading these relations—and, on the other, that the Hungarian Republic resolutely insisted on, and will do everything to ensure, the fulfillment of the UN Security Council arms embargo resolution.

Naturally, there have been attempts. Arms trade is the best business in the world—be it the sale of 10 guns or 50 machine pistols. However, Hungarian border and customs guard units and the police are there in the region and they are a kind of guarantee of preventing such sales. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] A foreign policy commentator colleague of mine said this morning that the Americans, the superpowers, and the militarily strong states perhaps follow the secret tactics followed in Lebanon based on the belief that the protagonists will exhaust each other. [passage omitted]

[Keleti] I do not believe this, because, as far as I know, the French, for example, had 43 deaths so far. This is not tactics: Waiting for the sides to exhaust themselves while continuing to lose young men whose death the government in Paris must be able to explain. I fear instead that the large number of death soldiers from the major peacekeeping states will induce the states involved to withdraw their troops, and I cannot rule out that smaller states will follow their example. This, in turn, could result in the collapse of the peacekeeping activity—despite all UN efforts to the contrary. [passage omitted]

[Kovacs] I think that the Senate's decision has a very important domestic political reason. Through the decision, the Democrat-majority Senate came out in support of the weaker side. This is a very important matter in the American psyche. [passage omitted] President Clinton is forced to oppose this noble gesture—to veto it, and by doing so to continue attempts at a solution that has repeatedly failed so far. This course of action is disadvantageous for him from a domestic political point of view—and we must not forget that in little over a year's time there will be presidential elections in the United States.

[Correspondent] From what you have said, minister, it follows logically that if the stalemate lasts for another two or three months and into the start of the U.S. presidential election, we will be edging toward a military solution.

[Kovacs] The conditions for an agreement will worsen in any case, because U.S. foreign policy, traditionally, has small room for maneuver during presidential election campaigns. [passage omitted]

Szent-Ivanyi Comments

AU2807162595 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 28 Jul 95 pp 1, 3

[Correspondent's report: "Szent-Ivanyi: No New Security Risk"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Whatever happens in Bosnia, it will not have a direct effect on Hungary's security and will not mean another security risk, Foreign Ministry State Secretary Istvan Szent-Ivanyi told NEPSZABADSAG. Szent-Ivanyi did not agree with lifting the arms embargo, although he received the U.S. Senate's

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26 July decision with understanding. He also confirmed that Hungary would continue to adhere to the embargo in the future, too, under all circumstances.

Szent-Ivanyi also said that we would not be happy if the war conflict flared up again, not too far from Hungary. Hungarian foreign policy is consistent in this issue: We have always said that a peaceful solution has to be found to the problem. However, we are becoming less and less optimistic about how this goal can be achieved. At the moment, it seems that all participating sides believe they can achieve their goals mainly through military force.

The international community is in a rather difficult situation, Szent-Ivanyi pointed out, because it does not have clear-cut and definitely acceptable options: It is obviously not an option to leave Bosnia on its own, to withdraw the UN troops, and watch the consequences passively. However, it is also true that, even with a confirmed UN mandate, it will be difficult to avoid getting actually involved in the conflict.

We do not agree with the proposal to lift the arms embargo, Szent-Ivanyi commented on the U.S. Senate's decision.

Szent-Ivanyi noted that various deadlines still have to pass before the Senate's decision comes into force. In Hungarian diplomacy's view, lifting the arms embargo can no longer help a quick settlement of the crisis; it will much rather lead to extending the conflict. At the same time, he added, we understand what happened in the Senate because they obviously saw that the international community cannot mobilize other means in the interest of quickly solving the crisis.

Szent-Ivanyi also confirmed that Hungary fully adheres to the arms embargo. "We strictly ensure that we do not violate it either actively or through neglect. This means that we do not export weapons there, and we prevent anyone else from doing this through Hungary." Hungary will do the same even if the United States withdraws itself from the embargo, because Hungary wishes to keep its established restraint between the fighting sides, Szent-Ivanyi emphasized.

Editorial Condemns Vote

AU2807170195 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 28 Jul 95 p 3

[Editorial by Endre Gomori: "Playing With Fire"]

[FBIS Translated Text] If someone experiments with trying to solve the unsolvable, then the result can only be a series of unanswerable questions. The Republican majority of the U.S. Senate decided to suggest lifting the arms embargo imposed on the Bosnian Muslims. This still has to be followed by the House of Representatives, to which President Clinton will probably respond with a veto, and the parliamentary circle will start all over again. According to optimistic views, this can last as long as two months. According to pessimists, until spring.

The decision will obviously be part of the first prior battles to the autumn 1996 U.S. presidential elections. However, the world outside the United States is interested in the unanswered questions, rather than in this. The clocks of the Washington legislation are ticking differently from the Bosnian clocks whose cover has already been smeared with blood. What will happen by the autumn or even by spring—on the scene, and not in Washington? How will NATO bomb if—enraged by the U.S. decicion—Bosnian Serb commander General Mladic's people again take UN soldiers hostage? These, of course, are not Americans but, for example, French or British, not to mention the other nations. What relations will Washington, London, and Paris have?

And what will happen if the above general implements his statement made a day before the Washington Senate's decision: "By autumn, we will occupy Gorazde, Bihac, and finally Sarajevo, and with this we will end the Bosnian war."

And this is only the beginning. What will happen if Clinton's opposition "succeeds in everything" and the decision becomes final? In that case the Bosnian Muslims, namely Bosnia's internationally recognized government will have to wait three weeks before they can buy weapons from U.S. companies or their representatives after the withdrawal of the Blue Helmets.

No one can tell what will happen in the three weeks after the two months. Washington committed itself to send U.S. men to the then mud- and snow-covered Bosnia to rescue the Blue Helmets. Should anyone take the courage and predict the result of the experiment—the prediction can only be a blood bath. And this time, in addition to the Bosnian Serbs, Croatians, and Muslims, and the non-American UN soldiers, blood will also be shed by Americans.

And when the coffins have been taken home (and the less "distinguished" victims have been thrown into the lime-pits), then the second, "free" phase of the war will begin in which the United Nations and NATO will have no obligations; therefore, it will endure to the last ditch.

We must stop at this point. We cannot watch the events as if they were independent in time and space from us, Hungarians. Hungary is the only Central European country in the full sense of the term which lies on the border of this conflict. And this is primarily true because we must at last give up the hypocritical attitude

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that wants to make itself believe that the Bosnian Serb Government and the Belgrade Serb Government are two completely different things. This attitude does not wish to recognize that General Mladic regularly appears in Belgrade; does not recognize that three days before the Washington Senate's decision a U.S., a British, and a French general held talks with Mladic precisely in Belgrade; and, finally, closes its eyes when the reports are presented proving that the aerial defense system of the Bosnian Serbs is controlled by Belgrade's integrated air defense system.

If this war becomes "free" in this awful sense of the word, in other words, if it becomes impossible to limit it from the outside, then south of the Hungarian border, nothing will be able to curb the spread of the fire—and cannot even influence in which direction the flames will spread.

The world's only remaining superpower did not extinguish the fire when it was still possible to do so.

Now it is playing with it.

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Stoltenberg: UN Must Negotiate With Serb Leaders

BR3107095995 Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 28 Jul 95 p 8

[Unattributed report: "Meetings With the Accused"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Geneva—Thorvald Stolteberg believes that the United Nations must continue to negotiate with the Serb leaders in Bosnia and Croatia who stand accused of genocide. The Norwegian UN peace negotiator stated this view very clearly in an interview given to NORSK TELEGRAMBYRA from his office in Geneva.

He is not willing to give up or alter the United Nations' strategy for negotiating with the Bosnian Serbs' top leaders Radovan Karadzic and General Ratko Mladic, even if both men, together with 22 others, were accused of genocide and crimes against humanity by the war crimes tribunal in The Hague this week.

"I represent the UN secretary general in the former Yugoslavia and am acting in accordance with his mandate. This mandate states that in a war situation it is necessary to conduct negotiations with all the warring factions. So that remains my duty as well as that of the United Nations," Stoltenberg said.

"The UN military leader in Bosnia, Rupert Smith, holds regular negotiations with the Bosnian Serb commander, General Ratko Mladic. Their talks deal with a whole range of practical questions that are of decisive importance for the entire humanitarian effort, for instance convoys of supplies, escorts, the granting of access to visit prisoners of war, and other similar matters. Were it not for such negotiations, the situation for the civilian population in Bosnia would be even worse than it is now."

According to the newspaper L'UNITA, Italian lawyer Antonio Cassese, who is the chairman of the United Nations' War Crimes Tribunal, said on Wednesday that nobody should sit at the same neogiating table as somebody who stands accused of genocide, and that the UN Tribunal's decision to bring charges should bar the accused from any peace negotiations.

Were this the case, then among others, in addition to Karadzic and Mladic, the same would also apply to Milan Martic, the president of the breakaway Serbian state in Croatia, whom Stoltenberg is due to meet when he acts as mediator in the conflict between the Serbs and the Croats.

"Is it not hopeless for the UN peace brokers to negotiate with people who have been charged by the United Nations' own tribunal of genocide, as Cassese pointed out?"

Stoltenberg's response to this was that the Italian president of the Tribunal must have been either misunderstood or misquoted.

And when did Stoltenberg think he would follow in Owen's and Maziowecki's footstepts and throw in the towel?

"There can be no question of this until further notice. I am working for the UN secretary general and have an important mandate and shall carry on," Stoltenberg told NORSK TELEGRAMBYRA.

"In military terms the fight for the area around Bihac is potentially more explosive than the Serbs' conquest of Srebrenica and Zepa, since there is a greater risk of the war spreading," he said.

EU Mediator Bildt Opposes Military Intervention

AU2907163995 Paris AFP in English 1602 GMT 29 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Stockholm, July 29 (AFP)—The European Union's negotiator on the former Yugoslavia, Carl Bildt, said Saturday [29 July] he opposed Western military intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina and that only fresh diplomacy can rescue the situation.

"I am opposed to military ventures (in Bosnia)," Bildt told journalists here. "I know the extent of military power and also its limitations."

The former Swedish premier said he was convinced the United Nations could still preside over a peaceful solution to the conflict which Saturday was threatening to spread beyond Bosnia's borders to engulf wider areas of the former Yugoslavia.

But Bildt added that the international community had to arrive at a new strategy for the war-riven region.

"If we cannot come up with a new military and political strategy in Bosnia it will be difficult for the United Nations to remain on the ground without running the risk of getting caught up in a long and brutal war," Bildt said.

Bildt added that he regretted the U.S. Senate vote earlier this week in favour of lifting the arms embargo against Bosnia, ascribing the move to internal American political maneuvering.

Izetbegovic Meets With Iranian Delegation

LD3007115295 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran in English 1130 GMT 30 Jul 95

[As heard throughout]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Iranian delegation dispatched to Bosnia has met with the Bosnian President Alija

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Izetbegovic. Iranian ambassador to Bosnia, who is a member of the delegation, presented a report on the trilateral session in Athens and the OIC [Organization of the Islamic Conference] meeting in Geneva also elaborating on the measures to be taken by the Islamic Republic of Iran to help the Bosnians.

Sacirbegovic Denies U.S. Providing Military Aid

AU2807191595 Paris AFP in English 1853 GMT 28 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Rome, July 28 (AFP)—Bosnian Foreign Minister Mohamed Sacirbegovic urged the United Nations to lift the arms embargo against Bosnia Friday, saying the Bosnia's attacking Serbs only respected force. [sentence as received]

Sacirbegovic, on a short visit to Rome as part of a tour of foreign capitals, denied that Bosnia was receiving military aid from the United States but affirmed that military assistance "would be welcome." [passage omitted]

Sacirbegovic, who met his Italian Foreign Minister Susanna Agnelli, stressed the importance of lifting the embargo. [sentence as received]

"The Serbs have done nothing but take land," he said. "The United States perfectly understands that if the embargo is lifted, it may be possible to talk about a political solution because the Serbs only respect those who stand up to them." [passage omitted]

Sacirbegovic added the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia was only a "half measure" and "had even become a negative factor" since its peacekeepers could be taken hostage.

Each country would take its own decision regarding a possible withdrawal of the UN peacekeepers, he said. "France and Britain can't speak on behalf of the others on this topic," he added.

Sacirbegovic's tour has already taken him to London, Washington and Madrid.

Silajdzic Reiterates Denial

LD2907100395 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 29 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Following the U.S. Senate decision, which opens up the possibility of lifting the arms embargo on Bosnia-Herzegovina, Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic left for the United States. Here is a report from New York by Emira [name indistinct] on the results of his visit and official talks so far.

[Correspondent] Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic yesterday began a visit of several days to Washington. On his first day, he met with several representatives of the (?Foreign Relations) Committee of the U.S. Congress and with U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher. Journalists (?accredited to Washington) were not given many details on the talks, which took place behind closed doors. The topic of the talks was Bihac.

Asked by journalists whether the U.S. Government is arming the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, Prime Minister answered: No, we are not getting arms from the United States. We are not even receiving tactical assistance, he added. [passage omitted]

Silajdzic reiterated that the vote in the U.S. Senate was a victory for justice. The prime minister is expected to attend the voting in the House of Representatives, scheduled for 1 August. During his visit to Washington, he is also expected to meet officials from the White House, State Department, and Congress.

Silajdzic Urges Zagreb, Sarajevo To Fight Together

LD3007162795 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 30 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] If the international community allows Bihac to fall it will be condoning fait accompli policies, said Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic at Zagreb airport on his return from Washington. Tihomir Vinkovic reports from the news conference.

[Vinkovic] By its ineffectiveness in Bihac, the international community is obviously allowing the Contact Group's map to be redrawn, that is, it is rewarding aggression, Silajdzic said. It is not clear who is doing this, because:

[Begin Silajdzic recording] I talked to State Department Secretary Christopher yesterday; he told me that America is doing everything it can to ensure that the Gorazde arrangement, which is more or less known, could be applied in the other safe areas.

On the other hand, I received a letter yesterday from Mr. Juppe who replied to my question, what about Bihac? He said that the French position is that all the safe areas should be treated equally. It is therefore not clear who is obstructing action in the case of Bihac. [end recording]

[Vinkovic] In order to save Bihac we need immediate air strikes against Croatian Serb and Bosnian Serb positions. The aggression against Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina is directly managed by the political leaders in Belgrade, Silajdzic said.

We know about the existence of war criminals but we are wondering why the international community does

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not help the victims; why do they not lift the arms embargo so the victims could defend themselves?

Silajdzic repeated that Croatian military gains around Glamoc and Grahovo mean victory, but added that Serb assaults on Bihac are continuing unabated. In accordance with the Split agreement, we appealed to Croatia for help in the defense of Bosnia-Herzegovina, to which nobody objected, not even U.S. Secretary of State Christopher. However, it seems that the international community is not aware of the Nazi-fascism of our time. That is why it is time for Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina to fight against aggression together, Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic said at Zagreb airport.

HVO, Army Cooperation Viewed

AU2807205695 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian) in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jul 95 p 5

[Article by D. Kozar: "Artillery Man for Cooperation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] General Filip Filipovic was recently appointed commander of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. He came to Sarajevo from Tomislavgrad, where he held the post of the commander of the HVO MIlitary District. He is a career officer who graduated from the highest military schools in the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA]. He commanded artillery units and left his post at the command of the Sarajevo Corps of the former army on 10 April 1992; since then, he has been in the HVO.

Gen. Filipovic was born in 1946 in Travnik. After graduating from high school there, he went to Belgrade, where he graduated from the Military Academy for Land Troops, Artillery Department. During his career as an officer in that Army, he was chief of staff and commander of an artillery regiment. He graduated from the general staff college in Belgrade. In the course of his active military service in the JNA he cooperated with his colleagues from Artillery who are now the top officers of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, Rasim Delic, Vehbija Karic, Redzo Mehic, and so on.

As an HVO officer, in the last three years Filipovic has held posts in the Lasva valley, Jajce, Zepce, and Kiseljak, and he later became commander of an HVO military district, which is at the level of a corps. He received the rank of HVO Colonel General on 28 February 1995.

As he told us yesterday, for Gen. Filipovic the most important thing is that the HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army cooperate, not only at the level of the Joint Staff but on many fronts. Now, he believes, "we have to find new methods of teamwork for the HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army to connect and cooperate even further, which is a precondition for the creation of the federal Army."

Gen. Ante Roso and Brigadier General Fikret Muslimovic left the Joint Staff of the HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, and Gen. Filipovic and Brig Zaim Backovic arrived as new commanders. Filipovic said that the task of the Joint Staff is to mobilize the positive qualities of both armies. He is not in favor of the creation of a single army, if that would mean that the HVO would melt into the Bosnian Army. He insists on cooperation and a gradual formation of the federal Army in which soldiers and officers of both, currently separate, armies would have equal status.

In a recent interview to VECERNJI LIST, Gen. Filipovic said that the Bosnian Army and the HVO cooperated on the Sarajevo front, and that the final goal was the liberation of surrounded Sarajevo. He says that many people expected it to be like Operation Lightning, but he adds that in this territory the situation is completely different. "We will win a corridor, a road to Sarajevo, in a month, or two, or three, but we will do it in such a way that the Serb Army will not be able to cut it. We are going to do that with or without UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force]."

Military knowledge and the experience from this war will be of use to Gen. Filipovic in realizing his staff's plans. The most important thing for him is to inflict as many hard blows on the aggressor as possible, as is being done these days on several fronts.

Bicakcic To Replace Vice President Temporarily

AU2807184195 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian) in Serbo-Croatian 18 Jul 95 p 8

[Interview with Edhem Bicakcic, designated interim member of the presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina and vice chairman of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by S. Luckin; place and date not given: "Interim Solution Until the End of the Year"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The proposal made by the Muslim Deputies Club in the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina according to which Edhem Bicakcic should temporarily take over the functions that Ejup Ganic, who was wounded, performed in the highest bodies of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, has been interpreted in various ways.

Dilemmas arise from the procedure to be applied for Bicakcic's election to the presidency and to the position of Federation vice chairman, since such a procedure has not been applied in the political system of Bosnia-Herzegovina thus far. What is unclear is primarily the

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legal basis for implementation of the interim solution, since Mr. Ganic should resume his tasks after medical treatment is completed.

Edhem Bicakcic, the man who should replace Ganic, says he has not yet been elected a member of the presidency and vice chairman of the Federation.

The Acting Vice President

"This is only a proposal. I should be an acting member of the presidency and Federation vice president until the end of the year, since it is expected that Mr. Ganic's treatment will be completetd by that time. The proposal will, of course, be discussed within the possibilities arising from the Constitution of the Republic and the Federation. The professional services of the parliament of the Republic and the Federation should define the procedure that would enable the implementation of the interim solution. It is true that such a change has not been foreseen by either the Constitution of the Republic or that of the Federation. Whether the entire procedure complies with the Constitution is a question for legal experts, and I would not like to comment on it, because I am personally involved," Bicakcic explains.

[Luckin] The meeting in which the proposal was made was held in Zenica. There are interpretations that the proposal reflects the attitude imposed by the SDA [Party of Democratic Action]. Who scheduled the meeting, and did the representatives of the opposition parties participate in it?

[Bicakcic] You should ask this question at the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina, because the meeting was arranged by its bodies. In other words, the procedure was conducted by the Assembly. I was only one of the participants and I cannot tell precisely you how many opposition party representatives were present at the meeting. I think that Mirsad Djapo from the SDP [Social Democratic Party] was present. I do not know about others.

The Justification of the Initiative

[Luckin] Before it made this proposal, the SDA had started the initiative to modify the part of the Constitution related to the election of the president and members of the presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina in a state of war. Will this initiative be enlarged by the proposal made by the Muslim Deputies Club?

[Bicakcic] No, these are two different issues. Mr. Ganic's case has, unfortunately, confirmed that the SDA initiative is justified. It has proven that the situations we want to avoid with the initiative are possible. They were not foreseen by the Constitution; the present reality in Bosnia -Herzegovina was simply not taken into consideration. As far as the proposal made by the Muslim Deputies Club is concerned, it is pragmatic. It is a political decision; now how to implement it has to be decided.

[Luckin] Is it possible, according to the Federal Constitution, to make the change proposed now, and is it necessary to have the consent of the Croatian deputies for its implementation?

[Bicakcic] It is foreseen by the Constitution of the Federation that the function of the vice chairman can temporarily be táken over by the chairmen of the chambers of the federal parliament. However, the chambers have not been constituted yet. It is possible that the parliament may decide to constitute them. These are only speculations, of course. In any case, the consent of the Croatian Deputies Club will be necessary, and we already have their oral consent.

[Luckin] In other words, the final decision about the proposal and how it can be materialized should be passed by the Assemblies of the Republic and of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Do you know when this will happen?

[Bicakcic] Most probably by the end of July. Both Assemblies should have held their sessions by that time.

[Luckin] Still, only a day after the news about this proposal was published, you met with some ambassadors to Bosnia-Herzegovina. These meetings were interpreted as the beginning of your activities as a statesman.

[Bicakcic] As long as the parliaments of the Republic and the Federation have not passed the final decision about the proposal submitted to them, all the contacts I have and the tasks I perform are exclusively related to my party.

Only One Function

[Luckin] You are reproached for performing several functions already. You are the general manager of Elektroprivreda [Electrical Industry], the SDA vice chairman, and if the proposal is adopted, you will become a member of the presidency and the vice chairman of the Federation.

[Bicakcic] To be the vice chairman of a party is not a function, just as being a deputy is not a function. My only real function is being the general manager of Elektroprivreda. If I am elected member of the presidency, I shall temporarily leave Elektroprivreda, and resume my tasks when Mr. Ganic returns. I have been very careful about accumulating my functions, and I think I have been successful.

[Luckin] What will your task be if you are elected?

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[Bicakcic] I shall first of all try to make the interruption in the process of the Federation development less noticeable. After all, I have worked on these tasks as the vice chairman of the party.

Sacirbegovic: UN Mission 'Counterproductive'

AU2807204595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 28 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The UN forces in Bosnia have become counterproductive and [word indistinct] ready for the defense war on all fronts if the peace forces withdraw [word indistinct], said Muhamed Sacirbegovic, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Speaking about the possibility of UNPROFOR's withdrawing from Bosnia-Herzegovina, [word indistinct] France and Great Britain, he said that if that is a bluff, it is very dangerous.

Evaluating the UN mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina, our minister said that it had always had a half-effect but that in the past couple of months it had fallen even below that level, to a point where it had become in a way counterproductive.

In a way, Sacirbegovic still harbors hopes of peace negotiations, although he points out that agreements do not work against the new Nazism. While they are waving weapons, we are waving a piece of paper, and even that piece of paper has been torn by bullets. We believe that the time has come for us to appear with weapons in one hand and paper in the other, Sacirbegovic said.

Commentary Views OIC Rejection of Arms Embargo

AU3107064895 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian) in Serbo-Croatian 27 Jul-3 Aug 95 p 2

[Commentary by Zlatko Dizdarevic: "Strategic Turn"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The news that the countries which are members of the Organization of Islamic Conference [OIC] declared the arms embargo on Bosnia-Herzegovina legally invalid, compared to the decisions of the conference on Bosnia in London, shows us two things: Western countries have taken another step in the degradation of their own reputation and undermined their own interests, and left Bosnia-Herzegovina, just as for God knows how many other times, in the lurch. Unlike them, the countries of the Islamic conference have made a strategic turn in behalf of Bosnia, but also changed their own position in the world political scene by the aforementioned decision.

One should not forget that only 24 hours before the meeting in Geneva, at which foreign ministers of Egypt, Iran, Turkey, Pakistan, Malaysia, Saudi Arabia, Morocco, and Senegal were present, secretary general of the Organization of Islamic Conference, Hamed Algabid, had said that "the action of Islamic countries has to be coordinated with the international community and within the United Nations, because it is dangerous to get involved in the process in Bosnia individually and in an isolated manner." Meanwhile, this organization's contact group for Bosnia, consisting of the ministers of the aforementioned eight countries, made a move that differs very much from what the rest of the "international community," represented in London, did. In short, the Western countries again limited their own actions to the attempt of saving their own reputation, reducing the problem of Bosnia to the security of the safe havens, at the same time forgetting about both Srebrenica and Zepa, while the contact group in Geneva, simultaneously, activated the crucial mechanism of the global solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The military and political consequences of the decisions made in Geneva are, to put it simply, strategic. Militarily speaking, above all, this decision comes at the moment when almost all the possibilities of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, armed with small defensive weapons, are practically exhausted. The best training and capability of this army to defend the strategic positions it has to defend are not enough to start the operations for the liberation of the occupied territories which are parts of an internationally recognized state.

So, the famous embargo was not only a military and tactical limitation in individual operations, but it has also, in a crucial way, determined the whole political future of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as of the other areas of former Yugoslavia and the whole Balkans. Without heavy weaponry, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army would have to train for years to be able to launch more serious offensives, in order to change the political map of this area. Putting a stop to the genocide and now already the madman's megalomaniac logic of the enemy would be much faster and efficient if the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina possessed heavy artillery and helicopters.

The political consequences of the simultaneous decisions from Geneva and London, and particularly the conclusions made by the contact group of the Organization of Islamic Conference, in a certain sense are even more far-reaching, and also more important, than those practical military decisions. To millions, and even hundreds of millions people on this planet, a new picture has been offered, the picture of the absolute sterility of the West, but also of the "new decisiveness" of the countries of the Islamic world, which so far mostly stayed at the level of nice but inefficacious proclamations and promises. It is a legitimate right of Bosnia-Herzegovina

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to accept help from anybody living on this planet who is ready to offer that help, because it is no longer policy, but a struggle for mere survival. Those who have not offered that help in the way needed and when it was necessary, can only subsequently analyze the serious consequences of their restraint with genocidal consequences.

Repercussions of the Western political abstinence in Bosnia and the expressed political lucidity of Islamic countries will significantly change some strategic relations between the two political hemispheres. It is stunning how short-sighted Western analysts were not able to understand it, pressed by petty calculation and egoism. Until yesterday, often functioning only as an inefficient debate club, the Organization of Islamic Conference turned out to be a real political partner of the West. Do not forget, one of the members of the organization, and even a member of the group which decided not to listen to "the international community" is Turkey, a member of NATO. Finally, by the decisions from Geneva, the countries which have been the most loyal members of the world organization for the five decades of its life, turned their back on the United Nations or to what is left of it. The request for the instigation of the procedure to recall Butrus-Ghali came from the organization in which there are many countries which brought him to that position. The secretary general was, namely, chosen upon the formal suggestion of the Organization of African Unity, in which a large number of countries are members of the Islamic conference.

The strategic turn toward Bosnia, but also generally toward the questions of international order, justice, and truth, has not come either from the "democratic" West or from the United Nations, neither from Europe nor from America. It has come from the world to which the West had an aversion. One cannot win the battle for leadership in the world with empty proclamations and false promises. One loses that battle if one does so.

The gentlemen from London will have to think very hard about the lesson from Geneva unless it is a bit too late for them. Bosnia, finally, was not the most important there.

UN Commander on 'Action' Plan for Bihac

AU2807132495 Paris AFP in English
1246 GMT 28 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Brussels, July 28 (AFP)—The United Nations and NATO are working on a plan to deter an attack on the Bihac safe haven, General Bernard Janvier said on Monday [day as received].

"I will not hide from you the complexity of the situation," the UN commander for the former Yugoslavia said when asked about the possibility of NATO action in Bihac.

"We are preparing action likely to deter an attack on the security zone of Bihac," Janvier said after talks with NATO officials here.

ICRC Reports 'Thousands' Displaced

AU2807182295 Paris AFP in English
1758 GMT 28 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, July 28 (AFP) — The International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC] was helping "thousands" of people displaced by the fighting in the Bihac pocket in northwestern Bosnia, the ICRC said here Friday. The ICRC said it had delivered 3,200 food parcels to the Cazin area, 20 kilometres (12 miles) north of Bihac town, in the last few days.

People fleeing the fighting in the north of the besieged Muslim enclave "arrived on tractors loaded with furniture while others have only a couple of plastic bags full of belongings," a Red Cross statement said. The relief organisation has also been providing medical assistance to hospitals in the region.

Earlier, ICRC spokesman Tony Burgener said it still had not seen all the prisoners held by rebel Serbs following the fall more than two weeks ago of the former Srebrenica safe area. He told journalists here that the UN agency's team in northeast Bosnia still had not been able to visit all the sites where Muslims have been detained since the Serbs overran the eastern Bosnian enclave July 11.

Rebel Serbs have vowed to sweep away all Muslim enclaves in the east of the devastated former Yugoslav republic. Tuesday they occupied the former UN-designated safe area of Zepa, sending a second wave of refugees streaming west into government-held territory.

Burgener said an ICRC team was remaining in Zepa to try and continue registering Muslims being held by the Serbs.

Meanwhile, the UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) said Friday that there were no more than 7,000 people in the Zepa enclave before its fall. Estimates had earlier put the number of inhabitants at around 12,000.

Spokesman Ron Redmond said that 4,000 townspeople had moved across the front line into government territory, while 3,000 remained missing, of which between 1,000 and 1,500 were government Army forces.

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Muslims Continue Offensive

LD2907114195 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1013 GMT 29 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Drvar, 29 Jul (TANJUG)—Muslim units have continued their offensive action from the so-called protected zone of Bihac against the entire Bihac-Krupa section of the battlefield, but all the defense lines are under the full control of the 2d Krajina Corps of the Serb Republic Army.

At several points on this battlefield, there has been strong firing from mortars and all types of small arms, it was reported today. The fiercest action was reported in the foothills of [Mt.] Pljesevica and on the Grabez-Grmusa heights.

In the direction of Novigrad, from Plavno and Straziste, Muslim units fired 30 mortar shells at positions of the Serb fighters.

In the wider region of Krupa the Muslims continued mortar shelling and sniper fire from the left bank of the River Una aimed at the Serb fighters and populated areas.

Fresh regrouping of Muslims troops and equipment is under way and it is expected that the offensive action in this part of the battlefield will continue.

Fighting Intensifies, Croats Advance

AU2907132995 Paris AFP in English 1249 GMT 29 Jul 95

[Report by Adrian Brown]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, July 29 (AFP)—Fighting around the Bihac enclave of northwest Bosnia spread further Saturday [29 July] as Croatian forces fresh from the capture of two key Serb-held towns to the south appeared headed toward a third target. UN officials also reported continued fighting within the Muslim enclave itself, which has been the target of a series of offensives by combined Croat and Bosnian Serbs and renegade Muslims. UN officials said Croatian and Bosnian Croat soldiers who had Friday seized Bosansko Grahovo and Glamoc, near the Croatian border south of Bihac, were now veering east to Jacje, but gave no further details.

The Croat offensive in the region and notably the reported presence of up to 10,000 regular Croatian army troops in western Bosnia have raised fears that Zagreb may be preparing to turn against separatist Serbs in Croatia's nearby Krajina region.

The self-declared Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) is already surrounded on three sides by Croatian and Bosnian Croat forces who, with the capture of Grahovo, are within striking range of its capital Knin. UN officials have reported a buildup of up to 10,000 Croatian troops in the Livno valley south of Glamoc and southeast of the RSK. [passage omitted]

A heavy presence of armoured Croatian units along frontlines with the Serbs in Croatia itself has also worried UN peacekeepers, who fear Zagreb will order an offensive to recapture the Krajina region.

Of the three areas held by the Serbs after Croatia's 1991 independence war, only two remain, one in the far east of the country, the other flanking the Bosnian-Croatian border. A third, known as western Slavonija, fell to the Croatians in a lightning two-day strike in May.

Bosnian soldiers in the Bihac enclave have come under intense pressure for over a week from Croatian Serbs allied to rebel Muslim fighters based in the north of the enclave. Serb forces in Bosnia have harrassed the defenders on other front lines of the besieged enclave but have not launched an attack.

The crisis spurred Croatia to pour troops in after signing a military accord with Sarajevo a week ago to provide aid to the government forces in Bihac.

Croatian military expert and former Yugoslavia army officer, Karl Gorinsek, said Zagreb had 30,000 soldiers in the Grahovo-Glamoc area of Bosnia, separate from the 10,000 reported by UN officials in Livno. Croatian Serb forces were 9,000-strong in Grahovo-Glamoc and 15,000 in the Bihac enclave, the rest remaining in the RSK in case of a Croatian government attack, he said.

In the Bihac enclave itself "there were moderate levels of warring faction activity overnight on northern and western confrontation lines," UN spokeswoman Myriam Sochacki said Saturday. [passage omitted]

RS General Staff on Croat Attack

AU3007153995 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 29 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] This evening's report by the General Staff of the Army of the Serb Republic [RS] states that, under the excuse of lifting the alleged blockade on the Bihac enclave, regular forces of the Republic of Croatia, along with the local Ustashas and Muslims, have launched a heavy offensive against the southwestern part of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] and the Serb Republic.

Most of the Croatian forces are taking part in this offensive, which was prepared over a long period, and directly aided and abetted by Western forces. The following forces are participating in the offensive: the 1st Guards Brigade from Zagreb, the 2d Guards Brigade

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from Dugo Selo, the 4th Guards Brigade from Split, the 7th Guards Brigade from Varazdin, the 115th Regiment from Imotski, and the 162d Sinj Regiment, as well as parts of other units of the Croatian Army. Air force support is also present.

In the aggression against the RS and RSK the Republic of Croatia and the local Ustashas and Muslims engaged several tens of thousands of soldiers and combat equipment on the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. In the attacks on Serb villages, the enemy has, since the beginning of the aggression, been using shells containing poison gases, which are banned by all the conventions.

The aim of the Ustasha aggression is to occupy the RSK and the western part of the RS, as well as carry out pogroms against Serb civilians.

Following the evacuation of several tens of thousands of civilians from the front, the RS Army units managed to consolidate the defense lines at all the enemy breakthrough directions. General mobilization of all the available human and material resources, the entire Serb people, is under way, its aim being to respond to the aggression, defeat the enemy, and thus make them stop the war. The Serb people and their army are entitled to defend their territory and their people, regardless of the fact that their historical enemies have been denying them that right, and, regardless of all the pressures, blackmails, and threats, they will exercise that right.

Chetniks Continue 'Bestial Assaults'

LD3007183095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 30 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Mirza Sadikovic has a report on today's events on the Bihac front:

[Sadikovic] The combined Chetniks are continuing their bestial assaults in the area of the Una-Sana canton [Bihac pocket]. They are increasingly resorting to long-range shelling from tanks. This was the case throughout the day today, as they have been shelling from the so-called Serb Krajina almost all the areas along the state border and in the northern part of the canton. [passage omitted]

Silajdzic Urges Air Strikes

AU3007154195 Paris AFP in English 1402 GMT 30 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, July 30 (AFP)—Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic called Sunday [30 July] for massive air strikes against Serb positions in the Bihac enclave of northwest Bosnia, saying that otherwise it would fall like other UN-declared safe areas.

"If the international community does not intervene very quickly, Bihac will meet the same fate as Srebrenica and Zepa," Silajdzic told an airport press conference upon his return from Washington.

Bihac has been under attack for 10 days from an alliance of Bosnian and Croatian Serbs and rebel Muslims.

Srebrenica and Zepa, both Muslim enclaves in eastern Bosnia, were seized by the Serbs this month in what has been called the worst case of ethnic cleansing since the Bosnian war broke out more than three years ago.

Akashi: Serbs Pledge Pull Out

AU3007180895 Paris AFP in English 1751 GMT 30 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, July 30 (AFP)—Croatian Serb forces that have been attacking Bihac for the past 10 days have pledged to pull out of the enclave in northwest Bosnia, UN envoy Yasushi Akashi said here Sunday [30 July].

He spoke at a press conference in Zagreb after holding talks with leaders of the Croatian Serb secessionist forces of the Krajina region in their stronghold, the town of Knin.

Akashi said the Krajina Serbs had also pledged to halt attacks on Bosnian government defenders in Bihac and to let UN personnel deploy along the border between Croatia and Bosnia.

For the past 10 days Bihac has been under attack by the Croatian Serbs, Bosnian Serbs, and rebel Muslims loyal to local warlord Fikret Abdic.

Croatia has threatened to intervene in the Bihac fighting if necessary to save the enclave. Its fall would link up land held by the Krajina Serbs and Serbs in Bosnia, making it easier for the former to receive military supplies from the latter.

Croatia has also threatened an attack to recover the Krajina region, lost to Croatian Serbs in 1991, unless discussions scheduled for this week in Geneva produce what Croatian President Franjo Tudjman called "serious talks."

Radio: Serbs Only 'Regrouping'

AU3107094195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 31 Jul 95

[Report by Muhamed Mulic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Text] The united aggressors would not step down from their offensives against Una-Sana

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Canton. In the course of last night and early this morning, Martic's Chetniks and Abdic's paramilitary launched the fiercest attacks in the area of Krivaja, Pecigrad, [word indistinct], and Golubovici.

Through superhuman efforts, the soldiers of the 5th Corps repelled all infantry attacks by the enemy troops. The defense lines remained unchanged and firm. [Words indistinct] attacked equally fierce in the area of Turski Kozjen and on Mt. Grmec. The soldiers of our army successfully routed this attack, too, and returned the enemy to his initial positions.

Although the UN Protection Force claims that Martic's troops are withdrawing from the territory of Una-Sana Canton, their regrouping is actually just another trick to [words indistinct]. Thus, the artillery in Licko Petrovo Selo has been transferred to the Velika Kladusa area. By this, Martic is deceiving the international community and trying to (?soften) [word indistinct] against the so-called Serbian Krajina for its participation in the fighting around Bihac.

UN: 'Very Small Groups' Leave

AU3107100595 Paris AFP in English 0947 GMT 31 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, July 31 (AFP)—Smalls groups of soldiers from the separatist Croatian Serb forces have left Bihac in the last 24 hours, the United Nations said Monday. A UN spokesman said that over the past 24 hours they had received, "reports of very small groups leaving the pocket into the northern sector." But the spokesman said it was "not clear if it's a withdrawal or a possible rotation of troops."

The separatist Krajina Serbs of Croatia agreed Sunday to withdraw from the Bihac pocket after talks with the UN special envoy in the former Yugoslavia, Yasushi Akashi. Akashi has already said the Serbs were withdrawing, without being able to say how many.

An initial withdrawal of about 1,000 troops who had returned to Krajina, the Croatian territory controlled by the separatist Serbs, was announced Sunday by the United Nations.

Army: Serbs Renewing Attack

AU3107124395 Paris AFP in English 1205 GMT 31 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, July 31 (AFP)—The Bosnian Army accused Serb forces Monday [31 July] of launching a new offensive on the Bihac enclave in northwest Bosnia despite a pledge by Croatian Serbs to withdraw from the pocket. "Serb forces have launched a powerful artillery and infantry attack on positions of Bosnian defenders," the Bosnian agency in Bihac, BPA, reported. "The new offensive has forced hundreds of people to flee," the agency said.

Croatian Serbs from the self-styled separatist Krajina Republic agreed Sunday to pull back from the Bihac pocket after talks with the UN special envoy to the former Yugoslavia, Yasushi Akashi. Smalls groups of soldiers from the separatist Croatian Serb forces have left Bihac in the last 24 hours, the United Nations said Monday following the withdrawal of around 1,000 troops Sunday who returned to Krajina.

But the United Nations has been unable to say whether the troop withdrawals amount to a mere rotation or a wholesale pull-out, and the Bosnian agency said the Serbs were merely duping UN officials. "The feigned withdrawal of (Krajina) Serb forces is just another farce," BPA said. "The Serbs are only regrouping their forces on other fronts. These movements have deceived the UN observers," the agency said.

Croatian and Bosnian Serbs, allied with rebel Muslims, launched an offensive on the Bihac pocket July 19 and have pounded government defenses in the besieged enclave ever since. The battle for Bihac threatens to unleash a wider Yugoslav war, with Bosnian Croat forces attacking Serb positions further south to relieve the pressure on their Muslim allies, Zagreb threatening to intervene to save the enclave and Belgrade looking on with concern.

Army Statement on Occupation of Grahovo, Glamoc

LD2807195995 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1810 GMT 28 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Drvar, 28 Jul (TANJUG) -After an offensive lasting several months, regular troops of the Croatian Army of Tudjman's Republic of Croatia today occupied Grahovo and Glamoc, towns in the west of the Serb Republic, the press office of the 2d Krajina Corps of the Serb Republic Army [VRS] announced this evening. The Croats entered Grahovo at 1000 today while Glamoc, which resisted for four years and put up a superhuman defense in the past few months, was occupied this afternoon. Croatian troops also entered nearby villages, including Obljaj, the birthplace of Gavrilo Princip.

For months now the troops from Croatia have taken part in the attacks and also in the latest offensive. These troops included the 4th Guards Brigade from Varazdin, the 7th Guards Brigade from Split, the 126th Homeguard Regiment from Sinj, the 115th Homeguard Regiment from Imotski, and troops from Zagreb, Omis, Dugo Selo, and other places in Croatia as well.

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Almost all the settlements in the vicinity of Grahovo and Glamoc were destroyed in heavy attacks, in which multiple launchers, large-caliber howitzers, guns, and powerful armored and mechanized forces were used.

According to the statement of the press office of the 2d Krajina Corps, VRS units withdrew to their reserve positions, where they are organizing their defense against further attacks.

The same source said that the Croatian forces today also used asphyxiating poison gas, as the consequence of which 56 VRS members sought medical help and were hospitalized.

According to the statement, unbridled Ustasha troops destroyed everything in their wake, everything created by human hands.

Furthermore, the voice of consciousness has not been heard anywhere in the world in connection with this brutal aggression and the crudest ever interference of Tudjman's Croatia in the war on the soil of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Serb military sources have reported an exodus of 20,000 people looking for accommodation and ways to survive, as combat actions of the deranged Croatian army continued.

The town of Grahovo is situated on the road which links Knin and northern Dalmatia with Drvar and, further on, with Banja Luka and Serbia.

According to unofficial reports, the Croatian troops are heading for Knin along this road.

The Croatian offensive is the culmination of the Croatian operation which has reached deep into the heart of the Serb Republic, some estimated 50 kilometers into the territory, since last November, and attacks have been incessant from November until today.

Croat Air Force Reportedly Attacking

LD2807203895 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1928 GMT 28 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 28 Jul (SRNA)—The Serb Republic Bureau for Press Contacts issued a statement this evening saying that thousands of Serb refugees from the area of Grahovo Municipality are leaving their homes because of the aggression carried out by the Army of the Republic of Croatia and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO]. The undefined Muslim-Croatian Federation, under Croatia's patronage and military support, has shown once again that it respects only mutual agreements that have only one goal: the continuation of the war on the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, the statement forwarded to SRNA states.

Thus, the Croatian Air Force, with NATO's illicit approval and support, attacked the region last night, and Croatian units, supported by mechanized units, continued to use artillery shells filled with chemical substances early this morning.

Units of the Serb Army have temporarily withdrawn to their back-up positions and are undertaking all necessary measures to halt further Croatian Army and HVO aggression, the statement concludes.

Serbs Claim Five-Front Attack

AU2907152695 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 29 Jul 95

[Report by Branislav Bozic from Banja Luka]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The regular forces of the Republic of Croatia from the occupied [Bosansko] Grahovo are advancing in three directions: Toward Knin, Drvar, and Bihac. Their obvious intention is to cut off the entire Knin Krajina and link up with the [Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's] 5th Muslim Corps in Bihac.

The Croatian forces that occupied Glamoc yesterday afternoon are advancing in two directions: One toward Drvar, and the other toward Sipovo. Their intentions are obviously ambitious.

As the information service of the Serb Republic Army Command reports, clashes are under way in these areas. The information service claims that the Serb forces have consolidated their ranks and that they are reinforcing their reserve defense lines. [passage omitted]

Croats Reportedly Burn Villages

LD3007100895 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2130 GMT 29 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 29 Jul (SRNA)—Ustasha aggressors have looted and burned down the Serb villages in the territory they have temporarily occupied, and over 20,000 Serb refugees from the Grahovo and Glamoc areas have left their homes and sought accommodation in municipalities in western Krajina.

The press center of the general staff of the Serb Republic Army [VRS] reported that the Serb forces consolidated their defense lines in this area and halted any further enemy breakthrough.

In a counterattack on the Srbobran front the VRS retook positions in the broad area around Urije and continued to defeat the enemy troops. [passage omitted]

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5,000 Serb Refugees Flee

AU3007161895 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 29 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Serb refugees from Grahovo and Glamoc have started off towards the free parts of our country today. Military sources have reported regrouping of the present Croat forces. Slavisa Sabljic will report on the other events in this area.

[Sabljic] The Ustasha units from Tudjman's Croatia are not active today on the fronts of the western part of the Serb Republic; they are regrouping, determining future military tasks and directions of military action and looting and burning everything that is reminiscent of Serbs on the occupied territory of the Grahovo and Glamoc fronts.

Following yesterday's occupation and the fall of Grahovo and Glamoc and some dozen Serb villages in the area, the Serb defense lines are stable, but the humanitarian situation is very difficult. Some 5,000 homeless people, expelled from their centuries-old homes in the Grahovo and Glamoc municipalities, are seeking new shelter in today's rain. After staying in Drvar for a while, and after the people of Drvar gave them everything they had yesterday and last night, the refugees started off towards the interior of the Serb Republic today.

Food supplies are running low, but it is fortunate that the refugees have taken along thousands of head of cattle, which they did not want to leave to the Ustashas, as was the case during the November Ustasha aggression against the Serb land in the Dinara area, even at the cost of much additional effort.

Karadzic Orders Counteroffensive

AU3007154095 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 29 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just received a press release through the Serb Republic Bureau for Press Contacts. The press release says the following:

The president and supreme commander of the Armed Forces of the Serb Republic has issued to Lieutenant General Manojlo Milovanovic the order to take all necessary measures to stop the offensive of the Army of the Republic of Croatia on the territory of the Serb Republic.

According to the order, General Milovanovic should organize and launch a counteroffensive, the aim of which is to liberate Grahovo and Glamoc.

Army Chief To Carry Out Order

LD3007122795 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1155 GMT 30 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Drvar, 30 Jul (TANJUG)—Lieutenant Colonel General Manojlo Milovanovic, chief of the General Staff of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic Army [VRS], told reporters today that last night's orders from Serb Republic President Radovan Karadzic on the liberation of Grahovo and Glamoc, Serb territories occupied by Croatian forces, will be carried out.

"Those orders are militarily straightforward and clear, but they also have political significance as they have made it known to the people living in these parts that the Serb Republic is determined to regain the territories occupied by the ustashas. This ends all speculation that this territory is considered lost by the Serbs," Milovanovic stressed, adding that the VRS has embarked on the liberation of those territories.

He said that control over these parts has not been lost as the defense lines have been stabilized, and these parts are under the control of Serb firepower.

Serbs Consolidate Defense

LD3007180495 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1726 GMT 30 Jul 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 30 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Serb Army has succeeded in consolidating its defense lines in the areas of Glamoc and Grahovo and in preventing further advance of Croatian troops, the Bosnian Serb Army said in a statement on Sunday. Regular Croatian Army troops, jointed by Bosnian Croat forces, on Friday occupied the southwestern Bosnian Serb towns of Glamoc and Grahovo.

The statement said the Bosnian Serb Army had successfully repulsed Muslim attacks in the area of Bihac and Krupa in western Bosnia and around Mount Ozren in northeastern Bosnia. It said the Bosnian Serb villages of Puracic and Porin close to Doboj in northern Bosnia had come under Muslim artillery fire.

Muslim forces suffered great losses in a Bosnian Serb counterattack in the area of Srbobran (formerly Donji Vakuf) in central Bosnia, the statement said.

Snipers opened fire on Sarajevo's Serb suburbs of Grabavica and Dobrinja, the statement said, adding that Serb positions in the area of Biosk and Savici north of Sarajevo had also come under mortar and heavy machine gun fire.

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Mladic: Serbs To Retake Soon

LD3007191195 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1836 GMT 30 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 30 Jul (TANJUG)—Colonel General Ratko Mladic, commander of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic Army, stated in Knin today that Croatia has made a huge mistake by attacking and seizing Grahovo and Glamoc, and that the Serb Republic Army will soon retake the occupied territories.

General Mladic stressed that the Croatian Armed Forces have launched a large-scale offensive. He assessed the current situation on the Grahovo and Glamoc front as complex.

In a brief statement for the press, the commander of the Serb Republic Army said that this offensive will "cost Croatia dearly."

General Mladic said that the objective of the Croatian Army's offensive is to cut off the Republic of Serb Krajina; this is part of a plan drawn up by Croatia and its mentors, to impose a military solution on the Republic of Serb Krajina.

More Refugees Flee to Knin

AU3107081695 Paris AFP in English 0754 GMT 31 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, July 31 (AFP)—Refugees have begun fleeing fighting close to the Krajina Serb stronghold of Knin as Croat forces on the offensive in southern Bosnia turn their attention to border villages UN officials said Monday [31 July].

"In the border region east of Knin there was important mortar shelling of villages on Saturday and to a lesser degree of Sunday also. There is a flood of refugees into Knin ongoing," UN spokeswoman Myriam Sochacki said Monday.

She said activity was focused on border villages and the Serb held town of Strmica 15 kilometers (10 miles) north of Knin, the "capital" of the self-styled Krajina Serb Republic fashioned from the one fifth of Croatia under Serb control.

Sochacki gave no figures on the numbers of those arriving in Knin.

Croat forces consisting of regular Croatian Army troops and Bosnian Croat units punched through Serb defences in southern Bosnia on Friday taking two towns.

One, Bosansko Grahovo, guards the backdoor to Knin and is an important link between the rebel Serb states in Croatia and Bosnia.

Bosnian Serb Army chief General Ratko Mladic vowed on Sunday to make the Croats "pay dearly" for their seizure of the towns and promised that his forces would soon retake these two places.

Sochacki said the Croat shelling appeared aimed "at putting more pressure on the Knin and the Krajina Serbs."

UN Reports Serb Bombardment

AU3107113595 Paris AFP in English 1102 GMT 31 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, July 31 (AFP)—Croat forces on the offensive in southwest Bosnia against separatist Serbs pounded Monday border villages with artillery and mortar fire, UN officials said.

Attempting to pressure breakaway Serbs holding territory in Croatia, regular Croatian Army (HV) and Bosnian Croat [Croatian Defense Council] (HVO) forces have kept up "massive artillery and mortar shelling against RSK (Krajina Serb) [Republic of Serb Krajina] border villages over the last 16 hours," Chris Vernon, a UN spokesman said Monday.

The allied Croat forces took two Serb towns in southwest Bosnia on Friday cutting a vital supply route to the Krajina Serb stronghold of Knin, located just west of the border between Croatia and Bosnia.

Vernon said the Croat attack was aimed at "consolidating their positions (in Grahovo) using indirect fire weapons. There is no ground movement of infantry to follow up the indirect fire."

The attack is focused on the village of Strmica just across the border in Croatia but some 15 kilometers (10 miles) north of Knin, the "capital" of the self styled Krajina Serb Republic fashioned from the one fifth of Croatia under Serb control.

Serb forces however have responded to the attack with "violent" bombardment of Grahovo and Glamoc, the other town now in Croat hands according to a HVO official. Canons and rockets were fired onto the area at first light Monday wounding one soldier and a civilian, the official said.

Thousands of refugees have fled the two Serb towns since they were taken on Friday and headed for Drvar and Banja Luka, two Serb centres to the north, International Committee for the Red Cross (ICRC) officials said.

"Many of the displaced are being put up in schools though there is still movement on the road," Jessica Barry, an ICRC spokeswoman said. "A lot of people

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have been able to prepare with tractors loaded with all their possessions while others just have a plastic bag and very few things."

Serbs Report Croat Attacks

AU3107115595 Korenica Srpski Radio Krajina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0500 GMT 31 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The RSK [Republic of Serb Krajina] Army General Staff Information Service stated last night that joint forces of the Croatian Defense Council and the Croatian Army did not stop attacking the territory the Republic of Serb Krajina.

In the early hours of the afternoon, and they launched their attacks in the morning, joint Croat forces from the direction of occupied Grahovo, using artillery and projectiles, opened heavy fire at the wider area of the village of Strmica, aiming exclusively at civilian targets. Those fierce attacks inflicted immense material damage on civilian buildings, but fortunately there were no casualties.

RS Official: Evacuations From Zepa Complete

LD2807164495 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1619 GMT 28 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bijeljina, July 28 (TANJUG)—The last group of Muslim civilians left the town of Zepa, eastern Bosnia, on Friday, and, escorted by U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) officials, reached Kladanj, a Muslim-held town situated about 45 km to the northwest.

Bosnian Serb Deputy Refugee Commissioner Dragan Kekic, who spoke to TANJUG on the phone, quoted the UNHCR officials who had escorted the convoy as saying that the evacuation had been carried out in keeping with international humanitarian law.

Under an agreement reached with UNHCR officials, humanitarian convoys will be continually given safe conduct to Sarajevo and Gorazde, eastern Bosnia, he said.

Kekic said about 5,000 civilians had been evacuated from the town of Grahovo, southwestern Bosnia, to the nearby town of Drvar, due to heavy attacks by joint Bosnian Croat and regular Croatian Army troops on the town.

Kekic added that about 2,500 civilians had been evacuated from the town of Glamoc, also in the southwest, for the same reason.

RS Ministers on Refugees

AU2807203695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 28 Jul 95

[Report by Mehmedalija Sisic from Sarajevo]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] At a news conference held in Sarajevo today, Hasan Muratovic, minister and head of the Government Committee for relations with the United Nations, and (Nudzeim Respica), associate minister for refugees and social issues, spoke about the situation regarding the suffering of Zepa. [passage omitted]

[Muratovic] (?Refugees) from Zepa number (?4,684 people), civilians who do not belong to the category of military conscripts. Of that number, 4,622 arrived on the territory controlled by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. The others have been taken from the convoy and kept, or taken to an unknown destination. In the region of Zepa, we have 2,866 more civilians (?who have not managed) to reach the town of Zepa from the general region kept by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, including of course, people who, in the wake of the Srebrenica experience, did not dare (?do anything) until they saw how the evacuation would proceed, as well as citizens who are together with them on the territory held by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. Therefore, we have (?2,863) more civilians to be transported. [passage omitted]

We energetically request that UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] find the persons taken from the convoy, as UNPROFOR also has an agreement with the Serb aggressor side, and guarantee their safe transport to the free territories. [passage omitted]

Talks on an all-for-all exchange that would involve the safe evacuation of our defenders from Zepa are under way. The Serbs tried to hold talks locally and on three occasions forced the civilian authorities to sign agreements. Both we and the Zepa defenders rejected these agreements. The latest message we sent to Zepa with General Gobilliard this morning was that the Serbs should stop local talks and orient themselves completely toward the airport talks. [passage omitted]

Since 1500 [1300 GMT], the territories held by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army have been under attack. The agreement signed there was kept until then. [passage omitted]

The Serbs have been torching the (?villages) they enter, looting property and driving it away in two directions: toward Han Pijesak and toward (?Serbia).

[Sisic] Assistant Minister (Nudzeim Respica) spoke in more detail on [word indistinct] with expelled people:

[Respica] Within the [word indistinct] evacuation, 191 people have arrived in Sarajevo. Others have been

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accommodated at a reception point in Kladanj and sent to free territories, the places planned earlier and made for the reception of Zepa refugees.

During the last three days, refugees have been arriving in four big waves. Certain problems have been noticed: UNPROFOR has not met the demands of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government regarding escorts and the guarantees of absolute safety. [passage omitted]

We were told yesterday that two women were taken off a convoy and taken in an unknown direction. We were told today, at first, that 35 men of between 45 and 60 years of age were taken off the convoy, but it unfortunately turned out that the number was 62.

Let me tell you something about reception and accommodation: Zepa refugees have been accommodated on the territory of Zenica District and partly in the Visoko region, in the territory of six municipalities there. [passage omitted]

Civilians Still Hiding in Hills

AU2807182095 Paris AFP in English
1727 GMT 28 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, July 28 (AFP)—The last group of civilians from Zepa, the UN safe area that fell to Bosnian Serb forces earlier this week, have left the enclave and are on their way to government territory, a UN official said. Three hundred and fifty Muslim refugees sat for hours just outside Zepa in buses provided by the Serbs after their passage was blocked by Bosnian Serb forces, UN spokesman Alexander Ivanko said. They were guarded by French UN soldiers, however, and were expected to arrive in government-held territory later in the day, Ivanko said.

Bosnian Government Minister Hasan Muratovic said Friday that 4,684 people, mainly women and children but including the elderly, teenagers and some wounded, were taken from the enclave. Nearly all had arrived in government-held central Bosnia, but he said 62 people remained unaccounted for.

In the Zepa enclave, more than 2,800 people remained in hiding in the wooded hills around the town, Muratovic said. "They didn't reach the town and are hiding with Zepa's defenders," he said.

Muratovic has demanded greater UN involvement in the evacuation of Zepa's population, and has alleged that two women had been taken from one convoy and others robbed by the Serbs. So far, a UN presence has been maintained with peacekeepers riding on Serb buses acting as escorts.

Attempts to agree the surrender of draft age men in the pocket were still stalled, Muratovic said, adding that he wanted the men airlifted from the enclave and not given to the Serbs before any exchange.

Several rounds of talks have been held between the government and Bosnian Serb prisoner exchange commissions in a bid to save men in the pocket in return for relinquishing several hundred Serb prisoners held by the Bosnian side.

There are signs though that the situation might deteriorate with reports of sporadic outbreaks of fighting. Muratovic said he has asked the United Nations to mediate an extension of a local cease-fire while talks continued.

Hundreds of men were captured and many others reportedly killed when Serb forces took another UN safe area in eastern Bosnia, Srebrenica, earlier this month. The government is anxious to avoid a repeat of that debacle but is holding out for an "all for all" deal that has so far eluded them.

"The Serbs will benefit from this since we are ready to release all detained Bosnian Serb army soldiers including those we never intended to release until after the end of the war," Muratovic said.

Serbs Reportedly Loot, Burn

AU2907135795 Paris AFP in English
1306 GMT 29 Jul 95

[Report by Adrian Brown]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, July 29 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb troops have looted and burned the former UN safe area of Zepa after expelling the bulk of the enclave's civilians and UN peacekeepers are looking on helplessly, a UN official said Saturday [29 July].

"There has been widespread looting and burning down of houses by the BSA (Bosnian Serb army) in the town of Zepa. The town has basically been burnt down and looted," Alexander Ivanko a UN spokesman said.

On Friday during the evacuation of the last of the 4,336 people who came into the town to be bused away by the Serbs since the town fell on Tuesday 36 men, 12 of them wounded, were subsequently taken off the vehicles.

Ivanko said a senior BSA officer watched as the men were led away. "General Zdvako Tolimir informed UNPROFOR (UN Protection Force) that these men... will be registered as PoWs by the ICRC," Ivanko said. He said UN peacekeepers believed at least 3,000 other people, mostly the enclave's defenders and their families, are hiding out in the thickly wooded hills around Zepa. Skirmishes around the town and the sound

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of explosions have been heard in this area, he said. "The BSA is now trying to smoke out some of these men from the hills," he said.

A UN liason team in the enclave believes the men will surrender if UNPROFOR provides security guarantees. However, Ivanko said the 160 UN peacekeepers could only protect people "if we have the consent from the BSA." Bosnian Serb officers told UNPROFOR that they consider all negotiations for the surrender of these men finished, Ivanko added.

Talks at a senior government level in Sarajevo between Bosnian and Serb prisoner exchange commissions on an "all for all" basis have so far come to nothing.

Accounts of the evacuation carried out by the Serbs has attracted much attention following a similar exercise in Srebrenica, another UN safe area overrun by the Serbs on July 11. Some 30,000 people were taken from the Srebrenica enclave in unsupervised conditions. Numerous convincing reports of widespread abuses, including rape, murder, beatings and robbery, have since emerged.

UN officials said that during the Zepa expulsion of civilians, peacekeepers travelled on each Serb bus which UNPROFOR provided fuel for. Despite their presence however there were still a few cases of Serb soldiers boarding buses and demanding money and harrassing civilians.

In addition, Zepa administrator Mehmed Hajric was interned by the Serbs after negotiating the departure of the civilians, Ivanko said. The fate of the enclave's defence chief Avdo Palic is unclear but he may be dead. "General Mladic boasted to a UN officer in Zepa that Palic was dead," Ivanko said referring to Bosnian Serb military commander Ratko Mladic.

International Red Cross delegates who met the refugees when they passed into Bosnian government territory said they had helped a total of 1,000 exhausted people to reach safety.

Red Cross spokeswoman Jessica Barry also said "several corpses" had been found along the route.

"These are mainly elderly people who have just not had the energy to make the last part of the journey and have just given up," she said. Some were from the Srebrenica enclave and had been lying by the roadside for several days, Barry added.

All the refugees have been taken to collection centres in Zenica, central Bosnia. Aid officials said they expected to gain access to the displaced on Monday in order to carry out interviews and check on their experiences.

Aid Group: Men 'Disappeared'

AU3007201395 Paris AFP in English 1951 GMT 30 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Paris, July 30 (AFP)—All men aged 15 to 55 from the fallen east Bosnian towns of Srebrenica and Zepa have disappeared, the head of the relief organization Medecins du Monde (Doctors of the World) said in a television interview Sunday [30 July].

"I believe that we can guess at the fate of some of these men," said Bernard Granjon, who recently returned from Bosnia-Herzegovina where Bosnian Serbs took the largely Muslim enclave of Srebrenica on July 11 and that of Zepa on Tuesday.

"We know that some are in the forest. Others, who were taken away (by Bosnian Serbs) have completely disappeared. I'm talking about all men of draft age, that is to say between the ages of 15 and 55," he said.

"Some were massacred. We know this because we have absolutely abominable eyewitness accounts, in particular from Srebrenica," he said.

Mladic: Gorazde 'Should Be Solved Rationally'

AU3107102295 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jul 95 p 1

[Report by FONET: "Question of Gorazde To Be Resolved by Surrender of Arms"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zepa, FONET—Colonel General Ratko Mladic, commander of the General Staff of the Serb Republic Army, stated in Zepa the night before last that this town as well as Srebrenica had been taken "because the Muslims dishonored a demilitarization agreement and formed the East Bosnian Crops on the territory of the safe havens."

As SRNA reports, he emphasized that the objective of the Serbian Army attacks were neither civilians nor the UN Protection Force, but the disarmament of the 28th Muslim Division in Srebrenica and a few brigades in Zepa, which acted within the East Bosnian Corps of Izetbegovic's army. "We found ammunition and arms of the Iranian manufacture in Zepa and Srebrenica that had probably been brought to this area by helicopters."

According to Mladic, the question of Gorazde could be resolved through the talks on the surrender of arms with representatives of the local authorities, while the civilians would be allowed to stay if they want. "The Gorazde safe haven must not be an outpost for Muslim terrorist activities against Serbian civilians and positions, and this question should be solved rationally and not by arms," the commander of the General Staff of the Serb Republic Army said.

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He emphasized that the Muslim civilians from Zepa and those who voluntarily gave up their arms were treated in accordance with the international humanitarian law "which is the way," as he said, "the Serbian Army has treated civilians and captured enemy prisoners throughout the war."

"The world persistently remains blind to the existence of a Muslim camp in Tarcin and will not acknowledge the fact that on several occasions in the course of the war we either evacuated or allowed evacuation of the enemy's civilians through our territory."

Commenting on the deployment of the Rapid Reaction Force [RRF] in Bosnia-Herzegovina as well as a possibility of their conflict with the Serbs, Mladic said: "Whether there will be a conflict will not depend on us and them, but on those who deployed them and on the danger that they be manipulated by the provocations of the Muslim government in Sarajevo."

To an observation that the RRF was well armed, Mladic replied that 500,000 Muslim and Croatian soldiers were fighting against the Serb Republic Army without accomplishing anything, which, he remarked "should be contemplated by the RRF."

Karadzic Receives U.S. Congressman Hall

LD3007210095 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1951 GMT 30 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 30 Jul (SRNA)—Radovan Karadzic, the president of the Serb Republic, received Tony Hall, a U.S. congressman and member of the Democratic Party, in Pale at 2000 this evening.

At the beginning of the meeting, Karadzic informed the guest from the United States about the current situation in the territory of former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The meeting is being attended by Nikola Koljevic, the vice president of the Serb Republic, and Momcilo Krajisnik, the president of the People's Assembly of the Serb Republic, as well as members of the U.S. delegation Jim Joy and John Morrow [names as received].

Promises Hall Free Movement for Convoys

LD3107110895 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1017 GMT 31 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 31 Jul (SRNA)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic, reiterated after his talks with U.S. Congressman Tony Hall last night that humanitarian convoys bound for the Muslim part of Sarajevo will have freedom of movement through Serb territory and that it is not necessary to use the route over Mt. Igman.

"Humanitarian convoys do not have to go over Mt. Igman because the Serb part of the road from Kiseljak to Sarajevo is open for humanitarian aid," President Karadzic said and added that the Igman route, a cause of frequent incidents, has been used by the Muslims to bring in military supplies.

Congressman Hall said that the meeting with Karadzic was useful and that they discussed humanitarian issues, International Red Cross visits to prisoners, the reestablishment of family links, and the inoculation of children in the entire area affected by the conflict.

"I am irritated by new maps and plans while at the same time little attention is being paid to human tragedy," Hall said, adding that he has arrived in former Bosnia-Herzegovina to inspect the humanitarian situation and to try to help the people of the former Yugoslav republic. [passage omitted]

Serbs Claim Muslims Block Aid

LD3107100995 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0858 GMT 31 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 31 Jul (TANJUG)—General Ratko Mladic, the commander of the main headquarters of the Bosnian Serb Republic Army, has sent a letter to Gen. Rupert Smith, UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] commander in former Bosnia, informing him that the Serb side will respect all agreements on free passage of humanitarian aid convoys and that it will respond adequately to any abuse of the convoys, the information service of the main headquarters of the Serb Republic Army said today.

In his letter, Mladic denies Muslim accusations, according to which the Serb side did not give a transit permit to a humanitarian convoy carrying 105 tonnes of flour and 60 tonnes of beans to the Muslim part of Sarajevo via Kiseljak on 29 July.

"The convoy carrying aid from Metkovic in Croatia to Sarajevo was stopped at a Muslim checkpoint near Stupska Petlja [western Sarajevo] after a completely safe trip through Serb territory. The Muslims had laid mines on the road and did not remove them for two hours. The UNHCR personnel came under infantry fire from Muslim positions while waiting for the Muslim's side permit to enter the city. That is why Mark Catts, the head of the UNHCR office in Sarajevo, decided to return the UNHCR personnel to Kiseljak and our side enabled them to do so through our territory," Mladic says in his letter to Smith.

"By preventing the convoys from using the route that they had been using over the past three years,

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the Muslim side wants to convince the UNPROFOR command that the Kiseljak route is impossible to use and at the same time it is trying to secure official status for the unauthorized and nonexistent alternative route over Mount Igman. We will never agree to this because all previous agreements provide for humanitarian aid deliveries to the Muslim part of Sarajevo via the Kiseljak-Sarajevo, Pale-Sarajevo, and Visoko-Sarajevo routes," Mladic said.

Bosnian Serbs Call For New Peace Conference

LD3007180595 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1740 GMT 30 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 30 July (SRNA)—The leadership of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic [RS], headed by President Radovan Karadzic, held talks in Pale today with a British parliament delegation about the situation following the aggression by the Republic of Croatia against the RS and possibilities for initiating a new peace conference.

RS Vice President Nikola Koljevic said after the meeting that the RS leadership warned of the need for a comprehensive peace solution on the territories of the former Yugoslav republics of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, which would take historical issues into consideration.

"The situation is more complex than it seems. We have had so many unsuccessful cease-fires and the most important thing right now is to find the way to a new peace conference," Koljevic said.

He added that the RS expected "swift diplomatic intervention by the international community, as this could halt the escalation of the war".

The RS vice president said that British Members of Parliament Robert Wareing and Lord Harlech, members of the foreign affairs committee for former Yugoslavia, would be enabled to visit Serb Sarajevo, Srebrenica, Zepa, and Gorazde, so they could acquire a first-hand insight into the situation on the ground. [passage omitted]

Serb Government Holds Emergency Session 29 Jul

LD2907122495 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 29 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 29 Jul (SRNA)—The Serb Republic's government is to hold the fifth emergency session at 1200 [1000 GMT] today.

The session will discuss the decision on the proclamation of the state of war and the order number 01-1417 made by the Serb Republic's president and supreme commander [Radovan Karadzic], a statement issued by the government's secretariat says.

Issues State of War Declaration

LD2807172995 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1647 GMT 28 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Pale, 28 Jul (SRNA)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic, today made a decision on the declaration of a state of war on the entire territory of the Serb Republic.

A presidential statement, forwarded to SRNA via the Serb Republic's bureau for press contacts, says: "Proceeding from the facts that the Serb Republic and an undefined Muslim-Croatian federation have been created on the territory of the former Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina;

- that the Republic of Croatia has carried out an aggression against the Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina and that the Muslim-Croat federation has continued its offensive against the Serb Republic with the aim of destroying the Serb nation and its state;
- that the Serb nation also has the right to self-defense, an internationally recognized right, as its natural, inalienable, and inviolable right;
- that all citizens of the Republic have as their constitutional right and duty to defend and protect the Republic's sovereignty, territory, independence, and constitutional system;

on the basis of constitutional powers and decisions of the People's Assembly number: 02-141/94 [as received] made on 28 July 1995, the president of the Serb Republic decides on the proclamation of the state of war:

1. The state of war is being declared on Serb Republic territory.

2. The aim of the state of war declaration is to enable the full deployment of human and material resources to defend the Republic, win the final victory, and put an end to the war.

3. The Republic's armed forces will undertake all necessary measures to achieve the set objectives by deploying the available resources in an organized and efficient manner.

In line with their constitutional and legal powers, the Republic's government, ministries, and all state bodies are duty-bound to implement strictly the decision on general mobilization and to ensure the necessary human and material preconditions for the Armed Forces to wage a successful war campaign.

4. The organization, composition, competences, and functioning of state bodies in certain areas, as well as

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the system of legal sanctions, will be implemented in line with legal regulations that come into force during the state of war ('Serb Republic Official Gazetteer No. 1 — special edition of 29 November 1994') [Sluzbeni Glasnik Serb Republic].

5. The Republic will observe international law and international conventions regulating conduct between states in the state of war, and it will continue with its efforts to find a peaceful solution in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina through negotiations that do not diminish the dignity of the Serb nation and the Serb Republic's integrity and sovereignty. To this end, the Republic will continue to support peace initiatives and efforts to find a just solution.

6. This decision replaces the decision on the proclamation of the imminent threat of war ('Serb Republic Official Gazetteer N0. 6/92) on the day that it is being made.

7. The Serb Republic will inform the UN Secretary General, the Contact Group member states, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Republic of Croatia, the Republic of Serb Krajina, and the Muslim and Croat side in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

8. This decision comes into force on the day it is proclaimed, and will be published in the "Serb Republic Official Gazetteer."

Claims West Lenient With Croatia

LD2907175595 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1635 GMT 29 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 29 Jul (SRNA)—At its fifth emergency session in Pale today, chaired by Deputy Speaker Jovo Rosic, the Serb Republic Government discussed the immediate tasks aimed at implementing the decision of the Serb Republic president on the declaration of the state of war.

Analyzing the latest offensive by enemy forces against the Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina, the government concluded that the occupation of the southwestern part of the Serb Republic was an act of aggression by the regular army of the Republic of Croatia and a gross violation of international law.

The government voiced its concern about the fact that certain international players viewed the aggression against the Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina with leniency and approval.

The government also agreed that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia failed to react adequately in terms of the protection of RSK interests, given that the very existence of the Serb Republic and the survival of its people in their centuries-old homes, were being called into question by the action of the Croatian Army.

At today's emergency session several conclusions were adopted regarding the performance of the government and the ministries in keeping with the regulations that apply when a state of war is declared.

The Serb Republic Government is in permanent session.

Coademns Croatian 'Aggression'

AU3007154595 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 29 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At today's fifth extraordinary session of the government of the Serb Republic [RS], held in Pale, the immediate tasks in implementing the decision of the president of the Serb Republic on declaring state of war were considered.

Analyzing the latest enemy offensive against the Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina, the government established that the occupation of the part of the territory of the Serb Republic in the southwest is an act of aggression on the part of the regular army of the Republic of Croatia, and a violation of the norms of international law.

Concern was expressed about the fact that certain forces in the international community have expressed encouragement for the Republic of Croatia's aggression against the Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina. The government established that the reaction of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] concerning the protection of the interests of the Republic of Serb Krajina was not adequate, considering that the existence of the Republic of Serb Krajina and of the Serb people in their centuries-old homes has been questioned by the Croatian Army action.

At today's extraordinary session several decisions on the activity of the government and the ministries were also passed, in accordance with the regulations applied during the state of war. From today onwards, the government of the Serb Republic will be in constant session.

Requests FRY Protection

LD2907193295 Belgrade FONET in Serbo-Croatian 1850 GMT 29 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Pale, 29 Juy (FONET)—Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the Assembly of the Serb Republic, told Serb TV in Pale this evening that the Serb Republic has filed a request with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) "to become engaged in the protection of the Serb people in the southwest of

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the Serb Republic and in the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) in line with its obligations defined by the Vance plan," FONET's Ljiljana Kovacevic has reported.

"The international community has been lenient toward the Croatian aggression, but there is no room for panic and fear since this is most likely the final stage of the war in which all forces must be mobilized to oppose the enemy, and in order that our state can be verified," Krajisnik said.

Commenting on the concept of a state of war, he said it implied the mobilization of the entire material and human potential and it is somewhat more serious than a state of immediate war danger.

Krajisnik Views Declaration of State of War

AU3007161995 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 29 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Momcilo Krajisnik, chairman of the Assembly of the Serb Republic [RS], commented on the decision on declaring a state of war on the territory of the Serb Republic for Serb Radio and Television today.

[Begin Krajisnik recording] The respective forces of our enemy, both the Muslims and Croats and the regular Croatian forces, attacked the Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina. We are having great problems and, as our public knows, fighting is going on in the western part of the Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina, at the moment, in the Dinara area, where Croatian forces managed to take control of certain strategic positions.

We have taken all the measures that were within our power, and a state of war has been declared both on the territory of the Serb Republic and on the territory of the Republic of Serb Krajina, and we have filed a request with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], within its obligations in accordance with the Vance plan, to become involved and protect these people.

The international community has been lenient towards this Croatian act, and we are facing a very difficult problem here, even though there is no reason for panic. This war is probably the final stage, in which we have to mobilize all our forces in order to resist the enemy, which has [words indistinct] in this war, in the way our [word indistinct] demands, which is our goal, and which is the [word indistinct] of both the Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina.

I think that it is very important to understand this moment for what it is, which is that the danger to the Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina is so great that the mobilization of not only the available human resources, but also all other resources, is necessary to defend the country. What we are receiving in response from the ground is a great degree of seriousness, as well as the orientation and readiness on the part of the people to understand that [words indistinct] their strength and determination.

A state of war is only a little more severe degree of the state of immediate danger of war. I think that it is also important that the state of war [words indistinct] quality, and it represents something that causes particular concern, and that is that not even the least lack of discipline must be shown; lack of discipline is lethal, and that is why (discipline) has such importance for the (?defense of our country). [end recording]

Denounces Tribunal, Discusses Gorazde

AU2907132895 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jul 95 p 2

[BETA report: "Serb People in RS Who Are Indicted"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Jagodina—Momcilo Krajisnik, chairman of the Serb Republic (RS), yesterday stated that the indictment of the International Tribunal for War Crimes in the former Yugoslavia against RS President Radovan Karadzic and the commander of the RS Army (VRS), Ratko Mladic, represents an "indictment against the whole of Serb people in the RS."

"We do not recognize this court, but know that the court in The Hague will try the defeated, and it appears that the Muslims will force us to defeat them although our goal was to separate ourselves and find a political solution in this region," Krajisnik said in the interview to Jagodina Radio.

Speaking about the protected area of Gorazde, Krajisnik said that the RS does not "accept ultimatums by NATO and the United States" and warned that the Serbs, if attacked from that area, will "respond with the same measures as in Srebrenica and Zepa." "The protected areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina were declared as such contrary to the international war law.... We have annulled the decisions on the protected areas and taken the situation in our own hands in order to demilitarize them," he said.

According to Krajisnik, the units of the government in Sarajevo should understand the "international message" and not act militarily from these areas. "Otherwise, we will raze them to the ground," the chairman of the RS assembly threatened, and said: "Our goal is not to take Gorazde to conquer territory, but to protect our people in the RS who are threatened, especially from the so-called protected ares."

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Abdic: Separation From Sarajevo Definite

LD3007184395 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1743 GMT 30 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Velika Kladusa, 30 Jul (SRNA)—Fikret Abdic, president of the Republic of Western Bosnia, said today that "the proclamation of the republic represented the realization of military, political, economic, and all other objectives of the western Bosnia people."

"The proclamation of the Republic of Western Bosnia represents a definitive separation from the Sarajevo government, which has been ignoring the Muslims in western Bosnia," Abdic said in an interview to the Velika Kladusa-based Velkaton Radio.

Abdic warned the international community that negotiations on the resolution of the conflict in former Bosnia-Herzegovina must take into consideration the existence of the Republic of Western Bosnia and its legitimate representatives.

Abdic Liberates Villages Near Velika Kladusa

LD2907132195 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 29 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Velika Kladusa, 29 Jul (SRNA)—Members of Izetbegovic's 5th Corps are unsuccessfully attacking the lines of separation with the units of the People's Defense of Western Bosnia [NOZB].

After taking control of the most important strategic elevation of Visoka Glavica, units of the NOZB liberated the villages of Cuturici, Hasici, Rekici, Silahici, Zulici, and Varmarsko Selo, about 30 km southeast of Velika Kladusa.

Radio Velkaton reports that last night some 100 civilians and members of the 5th Corps with their sidearms crossed into liberated territory of the Republic of Western Bosnia.

The same source claims that the defectors from Izetbegovic's forces have formed three companies within the NOZB, which liberated three villages last night.

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Akaski Meets Tudjman, Martic; Seeks Mediation

Urges Croatian Restraint

LD2907165095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1635 GMT 29 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 29 (TANJUG)—UN special envoy Yasushi Akashi Saturday met with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman to try to inspire Croatia to show maximum restraint in the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, UN spokesman in Zagreb Christopher Gunness said. He said the meeting on the island of Brioni had taken place at a time when there were indications that "war is inevitable."

Gunness said he believed Croatia was seriously preparing for war in the Serb Krajina. He confirmed that Bosnian Croats and Croatian regular army troops had captured the Bosnian Serb towns of Grahovo and Glamoc in the western part of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Says Croats Prepare Assault

LD3007201095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1956 GMT 30 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 30 (TANJUG)—UN special envoy for the former Yugoslavia, Yasushi Akashi, told the BBC radio on Sunday that, after talks with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, he believed Croatia was fully prepared for an assault on Krajina Serbs.

Akashi met with Tudjman on the Croatian Adriatic island of Brioni on Saturday.

The situation is fairly calm today but movement and massing of troops are most threatening and there is a real danger of an outbreak of a large-scale war, Akashi said.

The Serb Krajina news agency ISKRA quoted Milan Martic, president of the Republic of Serb Krajina, as saying at a press conference on Saturday that he could not exclude the possibility of a Croatian military attack on the Serb Krajina political center of Knin.

Agrees With Martic

LD3007185895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1813 GMT 30 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 30 July (TANJUG)—The Serbs from Krajina have accepted United Nations proposals for the easing of tensions, UN Secretary General's special envoy for former Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi stated in Knin today.

Akashi described five hours of talks with President of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] Milan Martic and his aides as "hard but successful."

In a statement for the press, Akashi said that it was high time all the warring sides refrained from military actions and contributed to the normalization of the situation by making brave and decisive moves, adding that UN peace forces would be at their disposal for attaining this goal.

President Martic confirmed that Krajina has accepted the UN program for the easing of tensions, but said that the Republic of Serb Krajina leadership has not signed that document because the same has not been done by the other two sides, the Zagreb and the Muslim Sarajevo governments.

Martic said that Krajina would make full contribution to the normalization of the situation, because it has accepted that its forces refrain from carrying out any actions against the Bihac pocket, which they have not done so far either; Krajina has requested that the Muslim army 5th Corps halt its actions against the RSK.

The RSK president told journalists that humanitarian convoys may use RSK territory for the delivery of humanitarian aid to the Bihac enclave. It has also been agreed that Lt. Col.-Gen. Mile Mrksic, commander of the Serb Krajina Army, should meet representatives of the Croatian Army in Turanj, on the border crossing with Croatia.

President Martic said that Akashi had promised that the United Nations and he, personally, would do everything to halt the Croatian aggression on Mt. Dinara, while the RSK has offered assurances that it would refrain from any offensive actions against Croatia, provided, of course, it is not attacked.

The talks in Knin were also attended by UN peace forces commander for former Yugoslavia Gen. Bertrand Janvier.

Martic Explains Plan

AU3107072595 Korenica Srpski Radio Krajina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0500 GMT 31 Jul 95

[Unattributed report]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yasushi Akashi, special envoy to the UN secretary general, visited Knin yesterday. Akashi described the meeting with RSK [Republic of Serb Krajina] President Milan Martic and his aides that went on for five hours as difficult, but successful. This is what RSK President Milan Martic said about the meeting:

[Martic] In our view, this is the final moment for the peace forces to do something to calm the situation and

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make Croatia realize that war, which is likely to spread to all of former Yugoslavia, the Balkans, and Europe, is not a solution to the problem and that all disputes must be settled in a peaceful manner.

[Correspondent] Together with Mr. Akashi, we agreed on six points that the United Nations and the RSK must implement.

[Martic] To refrain from combat activity in the Bihac pocket area, and we have not been active there so far, and that Atif Dudakovic's Muslim forces refrain from aggression against the RSK. Furthermore, we agreed on a humanitarian demand for peace forces to send convoys to the Bihac pocket and to reciprocate in the RSK.

[Correspondent] Most importantly, we showed that we were willing to cooperate and scheduled a UN-brokered meeting between General Mrksic and Croatian Gen. Cervenko at the Turanj border crossing, Martic said and continued:

[Martic] We agreed with what had been established before, that our delegation will go to Geneva to attend a UN-mediated meeting with the Croatian side without a specific agenda. His Excellency Mr. Akashi promised to do everything in his power to halt the Croatian aggression on Mt. Dinara and to send an objective report to the Security Council.

Our side promised to refrain from all offensive operations against the Republic of Croatia, of course, only if we are not attacked.

Finally, Mr. Akashi promised to see to it that goods from our eastern parts can arrive safely in the western part of the RSK via the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Serb Republic, and vice versa.

Let me point out that, in the course of our meeting, we were asked to sign the document to confirm our intentions, but we thought that was not necessary, as other leaders of the warring parties, Franjo Tudjman and Alija Izetbegovic in this case, did not put their signatures on the document.

Tudjman Rejects Proposal

LD3007221195 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2105 GMT 30 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A statement just in from the President's Office; the statement is dated 30 July, time 2220, and is a letter from President Tudjman to Yasushi Akashi. Here is the complete text of the statement:

Your excellency,

In reply to your fax, which I received at 2130 today, containing proposals by Knin rebels, I would like to inform you of the following:

1. It is surprising that in your fax you did not mention the UNCRO [UN Confidence Restoration Operation], the UN peace force that was given a mandate to operate in Croatia under that name by a UN Security Council resolution, while you mentioned the Knin leadership and the RSK [Republic of Serb Krajina].

2. It is unacceptable to us that UNCRO should be deployed only on the border along the Bihac pocket. Our demand has been and has remained that UNCRO should take control of the internationally recognized borders between the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also between the Republic of Croatia and Serbia, i.e. the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which is of particular importance given that troops and equipment of the Yugoslav Army were again transported over the Danube recently.

3. In connection with the above-mentioned, it is out of the question that UN border observers should be only deployed in the area of Mt. Dinara.

4. That the rebel Serb leaders again wish to play a trick on UN representatives and UNCRO is obvious from their proposal that they will allow humanitarian aid to reach Bihac on condition that it be delivered to them at the same time.

5. Such proposals do not constitute any basis for peaceful reintegration and do not represent a response to any condition that I set in my talks with you on Saturday, 29 July 1995, when I expressly told you that negotiations on peaceful reintegration with the Croatian Serbs living in occupied areas can begin under the following conditions:

a) The Croatian Government will not conduct negotiations with Milan Martic, who has been charged with war crimes by the International Tribunal in the Hague, nor with anyone negotiating on his behalf.

b) Negotiations can start within 24 hours only if the oil pipeline through the occupied area is opened.

c) Negotiations on reopening all roads through occupied areas must start immediately, particularly regarding the Zagreb-Split railway via Knin.

d) Talks on the immediate implementation of the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia in the occupied areas and the provisions of the constitutional law on the rights granted to the Serb ethnic community should take place at the same time.

6. A peaceful resolution can be reached only if the aforementioned conditions are fulfilled. The same applies to the proposal for talks between military and civil representatives of the Croatian authorities with the rebel Croatian Serbs from the occupied areas.

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[signed] Franjo Tudjman, the president of the Republic of Croatia, Brijuni, 30 July, 2220.

Akashi: Serbs Ready To Negotiate

AU3107095595 Paris AFP in English 0930 GMT 31 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, July 31 (AFP)—UN special envoy Yasushi Akashi said Monday that separatist Serbs in Croatia's Krajina region appeared ready to negotiate with Zagreb despite Croatia's rejection of a UN-drafted plan to ease rising tensions between the two sides.

Akashi was speaking after Croatian President Franjo Tudjman rejected the six-point plan the UN envoy reached Sunday with the Krajina Serbs.

Akashi on Monday declined to comment on the rejection by Tudjman, who objected that while the UN-drafted proposal met Zagreb's demand that the Croatian Serbs end attacks on the neighboring Bihac region in Bosnia, it ignored Croatia's demand for the restoration of control over Krajina.

"I saw a greater readiness (to negotiate) than ever before," Akashi said Monday in reference to the Croatian Serbs. But whether this will be "sufficient to diffuse the situation is a matter we have still to consider," he said.

Akashi also reported that some Croatian Serb units had pulled out of Bihac but he did not indicate the number of troops involved. "There are withdrawals of RSK (Krajina Serbs) [Republic of Serb Krajina] troops from Bihac, some fighting in the northern part, but the rest of Bihac is quiet," he said.

He said he had proposed a meeting between the head of the Croatian Army, General Zvonimir Cervenko, and the Krajina Serbs military chief, General Mile Mrksic, on Monday.

The UN was "ready to deploy all forces which are at our disposal to deescalate the situation and we have to be given some time to do so."

Akashi defended the six-point deal reached with the Krajina Serbs, saying it answered some of Tudjman's "preoccupations."

Under the deal, Croatian Serbs agreed to withdraw from the northwest Bosnian pocket of Bihac where they have been supporting an assault on Moslem-led Bosnian Government forces by Bosnian Serbs and an allied renegade Moslem force.

Other points included an undertaking to end Croat Serb shelling of Bihac, opening talks with the Croatian military leadership and allowing aid convoys into Bihac, provided Serbs also received aid packets.

But Tudjman said he wanted UN forces deployed not just along the border with the Bihac pocket, but also along the Croatia-Bosnia border, and the border between Croatia and the former Yugoslavia.

Croatia has threatened military intervention if Bihac, under attack since July 19, falls to the Serbs.

Iran's Velayati Meets Croatian, Bosnian Ministers

LD3107102995 Tehran IRIB Television First Program Network in Persian 0930 GMT 31 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Following the intensification of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, [Iranian] Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati arrived in Split, Croatia, this morning, at the head of a high-level political delegation. He was met by the foreign ministers of Croatia and Bosnia.

On the arrival in Croatia of our country's foreign minister, the foreign ministers of the three countries reviewed and discussed the latest situation in the Bosnian crisis in a tripartite session.

Velayati then left for Mostar, Bosnia. Our Bosnia correspondent reports:

[Begin unidentified correspondent recording] Good day to the dear viewers of the midday news. Velayati, our country's foreign minister arrived in Mostar around noon today heading a delegation for the purpose of declaring solidarity with the innocent people of Bosnia and to review the worrying situation for the republic's Muslims. He was met by the Bosnian foreign minister and other political officials.

In the first round of their talks in Bosnia, the foreign ministers of the two countries exchanged views on the political steps taken to put an end to the Serb crimes in that republic. They also studied ways of assisting the war-stricken and refugees of Bosnia.

At the meeting, Velayati referred to the political efforts made by the Islamic Republic of Iran to support the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina and noted the outcome of the bilateral and multilateral talks between the Islamic Republic of Iran and Islamic countries. He said: The Islamic Republic of Iran will stand alongside the people of Bosnia and defend their rights, just as it has in the past.

For his part, the Bosnian foreign minister presented a report on the critical situation in the republic and then thanked and praised the Islamic Republic of Iran for its political endeavors and its unstinting support for the oppressed people of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Our country's foreign minister is being accompanied by Vahid Dastjerdi, the head of the Islamic Republic

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of Iran's Red Crescent Organization during his trip to Bosnia. [end recording]

Zubak Details Croat Offensive; Gives Reasons

LD2907212695 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 29 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] [Unidentified correspondent] Joining us now from the Siroki Brijeg studio is Kresimir Zubak, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation. Good evening and congratulations on the great military victory. Shall we now recap this operation? How long was the Croatian Defense Council's [HVO] offensive in the Livno theater of war? What kind of results have been achieved? The Italian press, for example, regard the arrival of Croatian forces in Grahovo and Glamoc as a turning point in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Zubak] I would like to say first that this operation has ended, one part of it has ended. We carried out this operation for three reasons. First, we wanted to neutralize the artillery and missile installations in the Glamoc and Grahovo area from which attacks were constantly launched on Livno, Tomislavgrad, and the road to Kupres. The second reason was to take control of two very important Chetnik strongholds, Glamoc and Granovo. The third reason was to help, i.e. to blunt the Serb offensive launched against the Bihac enclave. One of the additional reasons in all of this is the fact that the Serb-Chetnik forces were preparing an offensive operation in the Livno area the aims of which were as radical as those in Bihac, that is to take Livno.

We had acquired intelligence, information about this enemy intention. Today, we also acquired specific documentation. You can show it to your viewers. It clearly shows what their goal was. In the course of this operation, they codenamed it Dinara 95, they wanted to penetrate the Livno valley from the direction of Grahovo and Glamoc and then to continue launching heavy offensives toward Livno. These are all the reasons that made us opt for this operation. Some of the forces deployed in the course of this operation are units of the Croatian Army. They are being deployed under the Split Declaration. These are parts of the Croatian Army's elite units. By carrying out this operation they have proved how elite they are.

[Correspondent] In the past few years of war we have witnessed the signings of various declarations, agreements, and similar documents. It seems that apart from the Split Declaration and the Izetbegovic-Tudjman declaration, none of them has materialized so rapidly. Do you agree with this view?

[Zubak] We had agreements in the past, too, between the HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. The public knows that a military agreement was also signed in 1992 between Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia. It did not materialize, though. It was rather limited to coordinated liberation-style operations of a defensive, less offensive nature. Following the Split agreement and the heavy Serb-Chetnik offensive against Bihac, well, we just accelerated this, reaching the conclusion that it was in our mutual interest to forge military links as soon as possible and launch joint liberation-style operations.

[Correspondent] Mr. Zubak, what next in the wake of Grahovo and Glamoc? Serb military sources report that instead of heading north, as they anticipated, the Croatian forces are heading for Jajce and Donji Vakuf. Is the HVO pushing further on?

[Zubak] This program is certainly not a place where we can publicly talk about what we want, what our goals are. First of all, this is not merely a phrase, we want a peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina. If the political representatives of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia were to accept a peaceful solution in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia we would cease our military activities straight away.

However, it is obvious that they have not given up their ultimate goals in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is why we have to opt for such operations, which are of a liberating and defensive nature. By liberating Grahovo and Glamoc we have in fact secured a wide launch pad for further advances toward Sipovo, Mrkonjic-Grad, Kljuc, Bosanski Petrovac, Drvar, and even Knin. What we are going to opt for depends on developments on the grounds. I cannot really dwell in more detail on this.

[Correspondent] Mr. Zubak, thank you for your time and I wish you a great deal of luck if you opt for any of these operations.

Interior Minister Briefs Tudjman on Security

LD2807182595 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 28 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] In Brijuni today, Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, received a delegation of the Ministry of Internal Affairs led by Minister Ivan Jarnjak. Other members of the delegation were Deputy Zlatko Glede, Secretary Vjeko Brajovic, and the minister's assistants, the president's office reported. Minister Jarnjak briefed the president on the general security situation in the Republic of Croatia. [passage omitted]

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Martic Demands Tudjman Be Tried for War Crimes

LD3107122895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1052 GMT 31 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 31 Jul (TANJUG)—Milan Martic, president of the Republic of Serb Krajina today sent a letter to UN Security Council Chairman Gerardo Martinez Blanco demanding that a UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] report on crimes perpetrated by the Croatian Army against Serb civilians in western Slavonia be made public and that perpetrators tried.

"The crimes committed by the Croatian Army in western Slavonia, which was under UN protection as the UN protected area Sector West, between 1 and 31 May 1995, are being concealed by which war criminals in Croatia are being protected and encouraged to commit fresh crimes against the RSK citizens," Martic says in the letter to Blanco, which was also forwarded to TANJUG.

The RSK president recalls that the UNPROFOR police, despite the fact that the Croats were hampering investigation, collated details on a massacre committed by the Croatian Army against Serb children, including newly born babies, women, and the elderly, and forwarded them to the UN Security Council.

"Proportions of the Croatian crimes are of such a nature that all those who are concealing these crimes are accomplices, and by the same token are accountable for these crimes.... I am appealing to you to publish the report on which the United Nations Security Council should adopt conclusions," Martic says.

The letter quotes parts of the UNPROFOR police report on crimes committed by Croat soldiers against Serb babies, their mothers, and the elderly on the road near the village of Benkovac, between Pakrac and Okucani, in the Serb village of Medare and cites names of those who were killed.

"Croatian President General Franjo Tudjman should be tried for these crimes," Martic says noting that in addition to Tudjman this action was commanded over by Croatian Major Generals Marijan Markovic, Mladen Markoc, and Petar Stipetic.

"The RSK people are astonished at the passivity of the Security Council with regard to these crimes.... If the United Nations does not persist in punishing the criminals, it will no longer have a reason to exist," the letter says in conclusion.

Martic Letter to UN

LD2907114895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1040 GMT 29 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 29 Jul (TANJUG)—Milan Martic, president of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], today sent a letter to UN Security Council Chairman Gerardo Martinez Blanco, informing him about the capture of [Bosansko] Grahovo and Glamoc by the Army of the Republic of Croatia and crimes committed against Serb civilians, who fled the area en masse.

"The Army of the Republic of Croatia attacked the [Bosnian] Serb Republic and occupied the towns of Grahovo and Glamoc, in which Croats have never lived. At the same time, the Army of the Republic of Croatia attacked the Mt. Dinara area in the immediate vicinity of the RSK capital, Knin. Croatia is again committing crimes against the Serb people. Eight thousand Serbs fled Grahovo and Glamoc," Martic's letter, issued by the RSK press bureau, says.

Having recalled Croatia's aggression on western Slavonia and the killings and the expulsion of the civilian population, Martic warns in the letter that "the Croatian Army will not halt its campaign of genocide against the RSK."

Martic recalls that Croats shelled the village of Strmica near Knin yesterday. He then appeals to the UN Security Council to do everything to halt the Croatian military machinery.

Having stressed that the RSK favors peace while Croatia favors war, Martic warns "Croatia's objective is to exterminate the Serb territories and turn them into the ethnically pure Croatian state."

"If the international community assists Croatia in this, it will do the same as Hitler did during the World War II," RSK President Martic's letter to the UN Security Council chairman says.

Army Can Prevent Advances

AU3007180995 Korenica Srpski Radio Korenica in Serbo-Croatian 0500 GMT 30 Jul 95

["Excerpt" of statement made by Republic of Serb Krajina president Milan Martic to RSK radio and television reporters in Knin on 29 July—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Martic] Our information from the ground indicates that Croatian regular forces are concentrating along the border with the Republic of Serb Krajina, i.e. from the eastern part all the way to Banija, Kordun, Lika, as well as in the Serb Republic.

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As regards the situation in the Republic of Serb Krajina, I must say I am pleased with the behavior of citizens because, even after the large-scale propaganda of the Croatian media, the people did not fall for provocation and there is no panic.

About our bordering areas, which at this moment are sustaining artillery attacks, primarily Strmica but Cetina as well, I must say that [words indistinct], that the situation is becoming stable, that our defense lines are extremely stable, that the command of the General Staff headed by Gen. Mrksic is doing everything in their power, and that the situation is quite good. We can say it is almost completely stable and there is no reason to fear that Croat forces can make any significant advances in this region.

I do not know how familiar you are with previous wars, but experts agree, and the Croats are aware of that, [words indistinct]. I do not believe that Croatia has so many capable men, that it will decide to make such an insane move. At any rate, the most important things are that our forces are well deployed, that the command of the General Staff have our corps under control, and that we [passage indistinct].

Comments on Attacks

AU3007172295 Petrinja Srpski Radio Krajina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1030 GMT 30 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] RSK [Republic of Serb Krajina] President Milan Martic gave an interview to a group of RSK Radio and Television reporters and commented on the military and security situation in the wake of the latest Croatian aggression against the Serb Republic and the bordering area of the Republic of Serb Krajina.

President Martic said that he and Gen. Mrksic visited Serb positions toward Grahovo yesterday. We do not believe Croatia will opt for such an insane move as to attack Knin, said President Martic, and added that such a move is still possible. Furthermore, the RSK president stated that he had contacted Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic yesterday and received his reassurance that Serbia could no longer remain indifferent.

As regards the military treaty between Tudjman and Izetbegovic, i.e. the Split Declaration, President Martic said that the Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina would also join their military efforts. We are in constant contact with President Karadzic and our military commands are in contact as well. We have the strength to regain the territory seized by the Croatian Army, President Martic stated.

In conclusion of the interview, the RSK president urged for utmost discipline in obeying the orders of authorities and performing their duties and thus contribute to our final victory, President Martic said.

RSK Politician: War With Croatia 'Inevitable'

AU2807172595 Novi Sad DNEVNIK in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jul 95 p 5

[Report on interview with Slobodan Jarcevic, adviser of the president of the Republic of Serb Krajina, by Stevan Risovic; place and date not given: "Aggression Is Almost Certain"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman is still playing a double game. He is allegedly determined to restore negotiations between Zagreb and Knin, on the international scene he is trying to elevate the legitimacy of the new democracy in Croatia, and at home he is preparing his Army and his nation for the war against Serbs. The international community, of course, observes all that with attention, and forgives many things of the Croatian leadership, so that the occupation of western Slavonia went painlessly for Croatia, because for the Security Council it sufficed to express a condemnation of the Croatian aggression. Do we have to remember the aggression of Croatian Armed Forces on the Miljevacki Plato, on Peruca, Maslenica, Ravni Kotari....

Similarly, in case it comes to a general attack by Croatia on the Republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK], the Security Coucil is not going to do anything to protect the Serbian people who live outside of Serbia from another genocide. It appears that in the RSK they are aware of all that, so when Slobodan Jarcevic, president Milan Martic's adviser for foreign affairs, clearly expresses his doubts about Zagreb's wish to restart talks and restore mutual confidence, he anticipates a new war between Croatia and the RSK.

Mildness Towards Croats

"It is completely certain that Croatia is going to attack the RSK," Slobodan Jarcevic categorically says. "That is not my arbitrary opinion, foreboding, but a conclusion based on facts. Had the international community reacted to the Croatian aggression on the Serbian western Slavonia in a different way, there is no doubt that now we could talk about the continuation of the negotiating process, or a peaceful solution of all, absolutely all problems which exists between Knin and Zagreb. But, unfortunately, the international community, with their mildness toward Croats, actually initiates and supports the war option.

"Many say that Vance's plan was a factor of stability, but had it really been a factor of stability, in 1992 Croatia would not have attacked and occupied the Miljevacki

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Plato, then Maslenica, Medacki Dzep, and finally western Slavonia. Croatia is definitely going to attack the Republic of Serbian Krajina! Their Defense Minister Gojko Susak said so already last year, and Tudjman is doubtlessly going to try to use the momentarily acute anti-Serb political and media climate in the world to force the Serbs to live in his state. The war is inevitable, and we are going to confront it readily, because we have military potential with which we can successfully parry the Croatian Army, although it has become considerably better armed in the last few years."

We Will Go to Geneva

The copresidents of the Conference on Yugoslavia, Thornwald Stoltenberg and Carl Bildt, invited the delegations of Croatia and Krajina to come to Geneva in early August and proceed with the talks on the restoration of mutual confidence, opening of some road and railway communications, oil pipe lines, gas lines, and so on.

[Jarcevic] The copresidents formally sent the invitations both to ours and to the Croatian federation [delegation?], only to show that the international community is trying to find the key to the peaceful solution of the crisis in relations between the RSK and Croatia. However, it is clear to us that nothing will come of that, because in Geneva Croatia will insist on the unconditional reintegration of "pink zones" in Croatia. So those talks are in advance doomed to fail. A question arises in that case: Why bother to go to Geneva at all? We will be there regardless of everything, because we have always been very cooperative when it came to the peace process. The Croatian president preconditioned those talks in Geneva by the absence of Martic in the delegation of the RSK. President Milan Martic is not the president of Croatia, but of the RSK, and Mr. Tudjman, or anybody else, is not going to determine who will be in our state delegation, but we will do that, and our state delegation in Geneva will be on the same level as the delegation of Croatia. If Tudjman goes to Geneva, Martic will also go.

[Risovic] Mr. Jarcevic, is the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia going to passively watch the general aggression of Croatia on the RSK if it comes to one?

[Jarcevic] It would be crazy to expect something like that, because how could a part of the nation peacefully watch the suffering of another part of the nation. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, i.e. Serbia and Montenegro, give maximum efforts to solve the disputable issues in the former Yugoslavia exclusively in a peaceful way. Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic has won sympathy even on the West because of his peaceful policy. One must still do everything, literally everything, to prevent war between Croatia and the RSK, i.e. between Croats and Serbs, because that war would have far-reaching consequences for both nations and even further, since it is hard to believe that war would not spread throughout the Balkans, and further. However, if Croatia attacks the RSK, and we possess definite evidence that Zagreb is preparing an aggression, then Serbs must rise and defend Serbianhood.

Mrksic Protests to UN Over Croatian Attacks

AU3007191195 Korenica Srpski Radio Korenica in Serbo-Croatian 0500 GMT 30 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The RSK [Republic of Serb Krajina] Army General Staff Information Service stated yesterday that, in the past 24 hours, Croat forces continued attacking the Republic of Serb Krajina.

Croat artillery targeted the villages of Uniste and Cetina, as well as the hamlets of Totici and Milasi, in Podinarje. On two occasions, more than a hundred mortar shells and projectiles landed in the area.

Using artillery to pound the village of Strmica in the Republic of Serb Krajina, some 20 km north of Knin toward Grahovo, Croat forces also targeted the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] base on the road between Knin and Strmica, which has been at the same location since 1992. Units of the RSK Army responded to those attacks, says the statement.

On the occasion of the Croat attacks on Uniste, Cetina, and Strmica, Lt. Gen. Mile Mrksic, RSK Army chief of staff, lodged a strong protest with UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] commander Bernard Janvier emphasizing that provocations by Croat forces will no longer be tolerated and that peace forces and the international community will be held responsible for possible consequences, as they tolerate militant Croat intentions.

Krajina Military Takes Civilian Defense Steps

AU2807144595 Petrinja Srpski Radio Krajina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 28 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Command of the RSK [Republic of Serb Krajina] Army 7th Corps filed a strong protest with UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] Command in Sector South on the occasion of the latest shelling of the villages in the Cetinjska Krajina, the RSK Army General Staff Information Service stated. The Croatian Army mostly shelled civilian targets. The material damage is immense, but there were no casualties.

Units of the Croatian Army and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] keep bringing fresh forces and concen-

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trating military hardware along the borders with the RSK, the statement of the RSK Army General Staff and the RSK Defense Ministry says.

Furthermore, Croatian Army provocations reported in several areas are designed to provoke large-scale incidents, while HVO units, the Herzegovinian Ustashas, keep using artillery and tanks to shell civilian targets in Grahovo and the villages in the Grahovo municipality in the Serb Republic.

The RSK Army General Staff, Defense Ministry, and the Command of the Northern Dalmatia Corps took several measures to further strengthen their defense, as it is more than obvious that Croatia is preparing for an aggression against the territory of Krajina. In addition to the measure already taken, the RSK Army General Staff demands the following: Firstly, all conscripts in the Northern Dalmatia Corps engaged in compulsory work or other tasks outside their units will report to their units immediately; secondly, all conscripts who have not yet been assigned must be given their military assignment immediately and report to their units; thirdly, all soldiers or conscripts performing nonmilitary duties will be immediately sent to combat units; fourthly, police and military police will deal with any violations of this order and courts martial will be in session without interruption; fifthly, all the above activities will be coordinated by the Interior Ministry for Northern Dalmatia, the Command of the Northern Dalmatia Corps, and civilian and military police.

RSK Assembly Discusses Western Slavonia Further

AU2807150695 Petrinja Srpski Radio Krajina Network in Serbo-Croatian 01030 GMT 28 Jul 95

[Telephone report by Sinisa Samatovic from Topusko]

[FBIS Translated Text] Good afternoon to all our listeners from the Toplice health spa in Topusko, where the extraordinary session of the RSK [Republic of Serb Krajina] Assembly resumed today at 1000 hours [0800 GMT].

As you could hear from previous radio reports, the RSK finally, after 70 days, got a new government headed by Milan Babic. Last night, General Milan Mrksic, RSK Army commander, spoke on behalf of the RSK Army and emphasized that much had been done lately regarding the transformation of the RSK Army. Croatia is again seriously threatening Krajina, but the soldiers are absolutely prepared and cannot be taken by surprise, Gen. Mrksic said.

A discussion on an extremely sensitive matter, the report of the Sstate Commission to determine the cause and fall of western Slavonia during the Ustasha aggression of 1 May, began late last night, but was interrupted after almost two hours.

The session resumed today at 1000 hours and Slobodan Peric, member of the State Commission, continued reading the report. After that, more than 10 deputies gave their comments and there were quite a few opposing views. The discussion is under way as we speak and I will update you in our subsequent newscasts.

Approves Dialogue With Croatia

LD2807154095 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1347 GMT 28 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Topusko, 28 Jul (TANJUG)—The first session of the newly elected government of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] was held in Topusko today.

The session concluded that the government, despite the action of the Croatian Army in the Bosnian Serb Republic, which is threatening the vital interests of the RSK, supports all peace efforts which lead to the international community and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia finding a peaceful solution to the political crisis in the area of the former Yugoslavia by peaceful means and through negotiations.

The government approved the standpoint that the negotiating process with Croatia be resumed in Geneva; it also appointed Foreign Minister Milivoj Vojnovic as a member of Krajina's negotiating team, the statement stresses.

The statement says that the government, because of the spread of the war in the area of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina [as received] and the continuation of Croatian aggression in the hinterland of Knin (in the Serb Republic), calls on "all civilian authorities and public services to harmonize their work and activities with measures specified by the RSK Defense Ministry and the competent headquarters of the Serb Krajina Army."

Adjourns Due to Crisis

LD2807142395 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1354 GMT 28 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Topusko, 28 Jul (TANJUG)—At this afternoon's session of the Assembly of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] in Topusko, speaker Rajko Lezajic informed deputies that Croatian forces entered Grahovo in the [Bosnian] Serb Republic.

In this connection he proposed that the Assembly adjourn its meeting and that members of the government and Supreme Defense Council of the RSK urgently

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return to Knin to hold a permanent session. This was accepted.

The deputies proposed that the report on the causes of the fall of western Slavonia be sent for further review by the commission, which should also compile statements by "those involved in these events."

Lezajic gave as the reason for the adjournment of the Assembly session the very difficult situation in the Serb Republic and RSK, bearing in mind the fall of Grahovo.

RSK Supreme Defense Council Convenes in Knin

Declares 'State of War'

LD2807215195 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2135 GMT 28 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 28 Jul (TANJUG)—The Supreme Defense Council of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], which is meeting in Knin this evening in its full complement, has declared a state of war throughout the territory of the republic.

The press office of the RSK president announced that the decision to declare the state of war was adopted because of the situation in the Grahovo area and Croatia's continuous threats to carry out an aggression against the RSK.

The RSK Health Ministy has ordered all medical staff on specialized training outside the RSK immediately to report to their local health centers.

Introduces Curfew

LD2907111795 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 29 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 29 Jul (TANJUG)—The Internal Affairs Ministry of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] has introduced a curfew from 2200 to 0500 [2000-0300 GMT] on the entire RSK territory following yesterday's declaration of the state of war.

The movement of all people, except those on official duties, is banned during the curfew, the Ministry statement says.

Claims Defense Lines 'Stable'

AU2907153095 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 29 Jul 95

[Report by Danko Peric from Knin]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Supreme Defense Council of the Republic of Serb Krajina, which has been in permanent session, has concluded at today's session that the defense lines of the Serb Army of Krajina are firm and stable, and that all the necessary measures have been undertaken to halt any Croatian aggression, as well as to provide the conditions for a normal life for the population.

Last night, as the public already knows, this body proclaimed a state of war on the entire territory of the Republic of Serb Krajina.

The new Krajina government is also in permanent session. A statement is expected from its session today. The Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Serb Krajina has introduced a curfew in the entire Republic of Serb Krajina, which is in effect from 2200 [2000 GMT] to 0500. All movement is banned during curfew. [passage omitted]

Orders Men To Report

LD2907151995 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1446 GMT 29 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 29 Jul (SRNA)—The Supreme Defense Council of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], which is in permanent session due to the Croatian aggression, concluded in Knin today that all Serb defense lines were stable and ready to repel attacks on any part of the territory.

The Supreme Defense Council has called on all able-bodied men to report to their units by 1800 [1600 GMT] today and on all people who are partially able to assist the war effort and the remaining population capable of working to prepare to join the civil defense.

Appropriate legal measure will be undertaken against RSK citizens spreading disinformation and thus creating panic among the people, the session concluded.

Forms State Information Pool

AU3107071395 Petrinja Srpski Radio Krajina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 30 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At a session held yesterday, the RSK [Republic of Serb Krajina] Supreme Defense Council decided to form a state information pool, a coordinating body that will gather and present information, through the state and local media, regarding the state of the immediate danger of war.

The information pool held consultations this morning and discussed its activities and program. Information Minister Drago Kovacevic and Lieutenant Kosta Novakovic, assistant to the RSK Army commander, were appointed leaders of the state information pool.

A council for coordinating news activities comprising representatives of the RSK President's Office, the Information Ministry, the RSK Army General Staff, the Defense Ministry, the Interior Ministry, RSK Radio and

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Television, and ISKRA, was also founded within the framework of the pool.

Army, Bosnian Troops Resume Attacks on Krajina

LD3007111095 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1018 GMT 30 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 30 Jul (TANJUG)—The Croatian Army has continued to attack the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] and mass its forces on certain sections of the front, the press office of the SVK [Krajina Serb Army] general staff reported today.

In the past 24 hours, in the zone under the responsibility of the SVK Northern Dalmatian Corps, the Croatian allied forces (the regular army of the Republic of Croatia and the Croatian Defense Council) started shelling targets in the village of Strmica in the RSK from the direction of occupied Grahovo.

At the same time, the forces of the Muslim army's 5th Corps, loyal to Alija Izetbegovic, were continuing their attacks against the RSK defense lines. The village and airport of Zeljava were targeted, according to the statement.

The statement also said that the RSK state and military leaderships were taking energetic measures aimed at consolidating the defense.

In this respect a meeting was held with the command of the peacekeeping forces in Knin and possibilities were discussed of setting up new UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] checkpoints along the separation lines between SVK units and the Croatian forces, the statement concluded.

Serb Radio Reports Army Attacks From Grahovo

AU3107071295 Petrinja Srpski Radio Krajina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 30 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In the past 24 hours, the Army of the Republic of Croatia continued to attack the territory of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] and build up forces along certain front lines, the RSK Army General Staff Information Service states.

In the Northern Dalmatia Corps theater of operations, from the direction of occupied Grahovo, joint Croat forces fired on civilian targets in the wider area of the village of Strmica. Forces of the Muslim 5th Corps attacked from the Culinkosa area and fired on the wider area of the village and Zeljava airport.

Commentary on Goal of Army Operations at Grahovo

AU2807150495 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jul 95 p 3

[Commentary by Mario Galic: "Knin-Bihac Railway of Key Importance"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Parallel to the deteriorating situation around Bihac and Cazin, the military operations of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] forces on Livanjsko Polje are intensifying. The goal of these operations is to threaten important road communications that lead from Knin to Banja Luka via Bosansko Grahovo, which is supposed to trigger a reaction of the Serbian generals and the implementation of measures to strengthen their positions in the area. As strengthening at this moment means bringing in fresh troops, the circumstances would compel [Krajina Serb General] Mrksic to relax the pressure on Bihac and all of western Bosnia. Krajina and the Bosnian Serbs activated all of their available troops in that area and, at the moment, practically do not have spare troops to send to Bosansko Grahovo and Glamoc. The additional concentration of the Croatian troop in Dalmatia does not allow Mrksic to weaken the Serb positions in the occupied parts of Dalmatia and, thus, strengthen his positions on Grahovsko Polje and Glamocko Polje. Because of all this, Mrksic must economize with the troops that are already present there. He has deliberately weakened the defense of Glamoc, a little town whose strategic importance is incomparably less than that of Bosansko Grahovo. Because of this, he is concentrating all his available troops on the defense of the Grahovo-Banja Luka road. This is the main reason why the Croatian forces are encountering a much stauncher resistance around Bosansko Grahovo and why they are still 8 km away from the town. Simultaneously, they advanced to only 4 km from Glamoc and have practically placed the town in a semi encirclement.

However, this means a negative course of events for the Croatian and the Bosniak side because for as long as Bosansko Grahovo is not under direct threat, Mrksic will not weaken his forces around Bihac. We should not neglect another fact, namely, that by conquering Bihac the Serbs would get a good road and railway link with Bosnia and Serbia and that Bosansko Grahovo would not be really important after that. In these new circumstances, the liberation of Bosansko Grahovo, for as long as the heights of Mt. Dinara above it are still in Serb hands, would not threaten Knin itself militarily.

However, the situation would be completely different if the Croatian forces were to continue advancing on Mt. Dinara and reach the railway that links Knin with Bihac. In that case, the Serb military positions would

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deteriorate considerably and "the Krajina capital" would end up in a semi-encirclement. Mrksic would then simply have to act and transfer the additional troops to defend Knin even if he were to find himself on Bihac's doorstep.

Finally, if Bihac by any chance falls, Croatia can only compensate for this fall by liberating Knin, and it has to do this not in some distant, foreseeable future, but immediately. Otherwise, the Krajina defense will strengthen so much that the present Croatian military potentials will no longer be sufficient for the liberation of all occupied Croatian territories.

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Albanian Parliament Members Visit Republic

95P20928A Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 12 Jul 95 pp l, 5

[Article by H. Shaqiri: "Albanian Parliament Members in Macedonia—There Are No Problems Which Cannot Be Resolved"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Representatives of the foreign policy commission of the Albanian parliament, headed by Eduard Selami (the chairman of the commission) began official discussions with Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] on 11 July. According to protocol, they had talks with their hosts, the representatives of the foreign policy commission of the Macedonian parliament and, later, they were received by the chairman of the Assembly, Stojan Andov and the head of the government, Branko Crvenkovski, and they also met with the Macedonian parliamentary group for cooperation with Albania. During yesterday's meetings, the opinion was expressed that closer collaboration between the commissions of the two parliaments would greatly contribute to the surmounting of current problems.

The chairman of the foreign policy commission, Ilinka Mitreva, briefed the guests on the structure of parliament and spoke to them about Macedonia's achievements in the area of democracy and the difficulties which the Republic is facing in the area of the economy, in particular because of the Greek blockade. Mitreva congratulated Albania on its admission to the Council of Europe and expressed the hope that Albania would help Macedonia to join the ranks of this organization. She said that relations between the two countries could be evaluated as positive.

Eduard Selami said that Albania's road to Europe was not an easy road because it was a process which was accompanied by the democratization of Albania and the attainment of the standards set by the Council of Europe. In regard to cooperation between the two countries, Selami said that the road to cooperation has not been easy since there have been many problems but, he stressed, there is no problem which cannot be resolved by means of a dialogue, in a spirit of mutual trust and understanding.

Continuing, he said that Albania has always assisted Macedonia when Macedonia has had problems in the international arena and he assured the hosts that his country would continue to take such steps. It was understood that we are justifiably concerned about the rights of the Albanians in Macedonia, Selami said, and he added that he has high regard for the contribution of the Albanians in Macedonia. He expressed the desire that this contribution would continue as their demands continue because no state cuts back on the democratic options of its citizens. In this regard, we cannot say that everything has been achieved, because democracy is a continuing process, Selami said, and he expressed the desire that this initial contact would be continued since there is no road to peace in the region without cooperation.

Bashkim Zeneli, deputy chairman of the Albanian parliamentary commission and representative of the Socialist Party, called the opening of the road to cooperation with Macedonia one of the priorities of Albanian foreign policy. He praised the achievements in Macedonia, but, at the same time, he said that the governments of the two countries must do something concrete in the area of cooperation. Speaking about the position of the Albanians in Macedonia, Zeneli said that they have contributed and can contribute in the future to stability in Macedonia and he expressed confidence that now, after the fall of communism, the demands of the Albanians would be satisfied. He said that these needs would not be met by extreme nationalism or by premature demands.

Nikola Popovski expressed satisfaction with the development of relations between the two countries in recent years and proposed that meetings of the two commissions become a tradition in the future.

Mersel Bilali said that, in some circles, the concern of one state for a particular community in another state is misunderstood and, in many cases, this concern is accompanied, unnecessarily, by emotion. Neither the majority population nor the minority population has sufficient rights so the resolution of the problems requires an objective and unemotional approach.

Sami Ibrahimi expressed his dissatisfaction with the policy of the Macedonian Government and, in particular, with the policy of the two Albanian ministers in this government and he expressed confidence that this visit of Albanian deputies would provide a suitable opportunity for good cooperation between neighbors. These two commissions, he said, should make a concrete contribution to the elevation of the role of learning and culture in the two countries.

Blagoja Filipovski said that the present meeting and subsequent ones would increase cooperation between the two countries in the economic field, especially in communications, gas drilling, and electric energy and said that there should not be any obstacles to this cooperation, especially since it has been noted that the members of the two commissions have the same opinions on fundamental issues.

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Izet Shehu, one of the guests from Albania, said: "The Balkans are a troubled area and we Albanians are seeking a bridge of friendship". He added that the Albanians are a widely dispersed people, therefore, the interest in the Albanians of Macedonia, which constitute a large ethnic group, is logical. Alluding to the number of Macedonians in Albania, Shehu said that they are less than two percent [of the population] but, even though it is small, this minority has its own ministers and this was the reason why Albania was unanimously accepted into the Council of Europe, he said.

Ryshen Golemi said that the state, like a head of a family, must treat all the children in the family the same and appealed for more concern from now on, to compensate for lost time. He called for free communication among the citizens of the two countries and, if this is not possible for all citizens; at least it should begin in specific regions.

Concluding the meeting, Eduard Selami said that there should be no illusions that everything will be resolved in the future because it is a long road. Ilinka Mitreva said that three themes were predominant during the meeting: democracy, Europe, and cooperation. She expressed confidence that cooperation between the two countries would be intensified even more on these specific themes.

The guests from Albania were received by the chairman of the Assembly of Macedonia, Stojan Andov. According to the communique on possibilities for cooperation between the two countries, he stressed the need for closer collaboration between the commissions of the two parliaments, which would contribute to the surmounting of current problems.

In conclusion, it should be stressed that the talks between the representatives of the Albanian commission and the Macedonian commission were accompanied by very weak, one might say even catastrophical, translation support. We hope that this very important technical obstacle will be removed tomorrow when the bilateral talks continue.

PDP Leaders Discuss Issues With Van der Stoel

AU2907175895 Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 20 Jul 95 p 2

[Report by L. Jusufi: "Article 48 of the Constitution—A Dilemma That Requires a Solution"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Max Van der Stoel, the OSCE high commissioner, yesterday received Party for Democratic Prosperity [PDP] Chairman Abdurrahman Haliti and the PDP parliamentary group coordinator, Ismet Ramadani, at OSCE headquarters in Skopje.

Regarding the topics discussed at the meeting, Mr. Ismet Ramadani informed us that they brought up some problems in which Albanians are confronted in their daily life.

Regarding the discussions on Tetovo University, Mr. Van der Stoel said that this issue should be postponed and that now we should talk about other forms of higher education, mentioning the Pedagogical Faculty and the inclusion of the Albanian students in Skopje University.

Ismet Ramadani says that, when asked what was done with a project on an open university of Tetovo promised long ago, Mr. Van der Stoel answered: "I have never left this problem, and this has been my permanent concern. However, I have not undertaken any specific steps, as I am expecting the Law on Higher Education to be approved. Thinking about this problem, I have often been put in a dilemma by Article 48 of the Constitution, which says that the state of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] guarantees higher education for minorities in their native language, although I would have liked to interpret the article, as it, nevertheless, does not prohibit higher education in Albanian. I am assigning various experts in the government to look into the possibility of opening a trilingual university in which managers and administrators would get an education, something that would have a positive application in efficiently and practically incorporating Albanians into the state administration."

Regarding the issue of the Pedagogical Faculty, Ismet Ramadani said that our impressions were that Mr. Van der Stoel was misinformed about this issue, as it looked like he was told that this faculty will prepare staffing for primary and secondary schools, while in reality, the faculty prepares staffing for the first four grades of elementary education. It remains for Mr. Van der Stoel to verify this issue with the education minister.

The meeting also focused on the use of native language in administration. By interpreting some variants of the Law on Local Administration, it seemed to Mr. Van der Stoel that positive steps are being taken in this direction. We did not agree to the fact that positive steps are being taken, Ismet Ramadani says, but on the contrary we assessed that there are very restrictive provisions regarding the use of language. We would consider that positive steps are being made only when the Albanian language will have a more positive position and treatment than in the 1974 Constitution.

We also submitted the problem of the closure of the private radio and television stations, stressing that the private Macedonian radio and television stations continue operation while the Albanian ones are closed down.

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We also discussed the quota of the ethnic students, notifying Mr. Van der Stoel that this issue is mishandled, as there are many cases when the quota of the ethnic students has been completed with students having a Macedonian name and surname, thus considering only their declaration and meeting their personal interests.

We also talked about the attempts of the Judicial Council which, instead of nominating four Albanian judges in the Supreme Court, is leaving no stones unturned to oblige a person of the other nationality to declare himself as an Albanian only for being appointed a judge.

Mr. Van der Stoel concluded by saying that there is understanding for our nervousness regarding these issues. However, he thinks that problems would be better resolved if they are discussed and that he will present all these concerns in his meetings with government representatives.

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Walesa To Send Privatization Law to Tribunal

LD3007190695 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1730 GMT 30 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Lech Walesa has announced that tomorrow he will submit a motion to the Constitutional Tribunal to examine the compatibility of the law on commercialization and privatization of state enterprises with the Constitution.

According to the presidential spokesman, the clause in the law giving the Sejm the right to decide which enterprises are to be privatized breaks the constitutional principle of the triple division of power. Two weeks ago the Sejm overturned the presidential veto against the law on commercialization and privatization of state enterprises.

Press on Mazowiecki Quitting, U.S. Senate Vote

WS2807140595

[FBIS Editorial Report] Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA on pages 5 and 7, GAZETA WYBORCZA on page 1, and ZYCIE WARSZAWY on page 1 — all in Polish and all dated 28 July — carry commentary and articles on UN policies on the war in the former Yugoslavia following Tadeusz Mazowiecki's resignation as the UN Human Rights Commission envoy and the lifting of the arms embargo on Bosnia by the U.S. Senate.

A 550-word commentary by Stanislaw Grzymski under the title "Patience Has Its Limits" in RZECZPOSPOLITA states: "Mazowiecki made enemies with everybody because of his objectivity. In a recent statement for RZECZPOSPOLITA, he said that all sides of the conflict are responsible for war crimes, ethnic cleansing, torturing prisoners, mass deportations of people, inciting ethnic hatred, and violating basic civil rights." The author concludes: "Talking to RZECZPOSPOLITA, Mazowiecki admitted that his mission is absurd, considering that the world is unable to prevent war crimes in former Yugoslavia, considering that international order is so easily upset. Mazowiecki warns that the lack of international response to the unpunished violation of order reaches far beyond the borders of former Yugoslavia and may affect practically any region in the world."

The same daily carries a 450-word commentary by Jan Skorzynski on page 5 under the title "With a Cold Eye." The author begins: "Senator Dole said 'people are entitled to self-defense,' demanding that the arms embargo on Bosnia be lifted. One can hardly dispute such a forthright statement. What it boils down to in practical terms, however, is 'fight for yourselves!.' By voting for Dole's project, the U.S. Senate initiated an international retreat from the former Yugoslavia." "The alternative is simple: Either the West steps up its military involvement and its political determination to force an end to the military conflict, or it will limit itself to diplomatic peace operations and humanitarian aid missions. NATO preparations for further retaliatory air operations seem to indicate that the European capitals are becoming more determined. President Jacques Chirac verbally expressed the determination of the French. But the decision reached by the U.S. Senate leads in the opposite direction. And it will rather set the guidelines for the further development of events." "Why are Western governments and NATO strategists trying to avoid military involvement in Bosnia? Because they know that would inevitably lead to an armed confrontation with the Serbs. Not in the air, from the safe distance a plane offers, but face to face with Ratko Mladic's men, who have already shown they know their war trade well." "It would be difficult to find a clear political reason for the West's military intervention in Bosnia. One cannot restore lasting peace with a bayonet in a country torn apart by civil war. How can one orchestrate an agreement if none of the sides is willing to reach it? The key to solving the Balkan conflict is in Pale, Belgrade, and Sarajevo. Peace gestures and efforts can be supported from Washington, London, or Paris, but they cannot be replaced."

Dawid Warszawski in GAZETA WYBORCZA points out in a 300-word commentary entitled "He Was in Everyone's Way": "The Bosnian Serbs denied Mazowiecki entry to the territories they controlled. This did not prevent them, however, from accusing him of failing to report on crimes committed on the Serbs. The parliament in Sarajevo honored him with a special resolution, but Muslim fundamentalists charged him with nonchalance toward crimes committed on the Bosnians. The Croats saw him as an unbiased and objective reporter but held it against him that he did not give their opinions the full attention they deserved. He irked the international community." The author goes on to say that people recognize Mazowiecki in the streets of Bosnia. He personified hope to them. "The UN wanted an internationally recognized politician who would not be overly inquisitive. Nobody expected that Mazowiecki would travel in an armored vehicle over bumpy frontline roads, stand endlessly at the closed gates of Serbian camps, talk for hours on end with victims. Despite the irritation he caused, the UN was proud of his reports — they were the only thing in Bosnia they did not have to be ashamed of."

In a 250-word commentary carried by ZYCIE WARSZAWY under the title "The UN Has Outlived Itself," Bronislaw Wildstein writes: "By resigning from his post, Tadeusz Mazowiecki drew the only possible conclusion from the conflict in Bosnia. The decision

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of the U.S. Senate on lifting the embargo on arms supplies for Bosnia breaks a vicious circle of cowardice and hypocrisy. It also poses a very burning question about the future existence of the UN." "The Balkan conflict is a history of lost opportunities for the UN to become an institution that could refine global relations. A lack of vision and the cowardice of the Western states, combined with Russia's imperialist tendencies, contributed to the final effect. A crisis-ridden Russia is incapable of posing a threat to the West, but the latter's submissiveness allowed Moscow to rebuild its former image on the international forum. That image is to compensate the Russians for the internal collapse of their state." Wildstein concludes: "A unilateral lifting of the arms embargo by the United States does, however, undermine the principles of the UN, of which the United States was a central pillar. The UN in its current shape no longer has a reason to exist. Yet too many distinguished individuals are on its payroll, the stakes in maintaining the very costly facade are too huge, for it to be dissolved."

Arms Theft Leads to Firings, Tightened Security

LD2907105295 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1005 GMT 29 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] National Defense Minister Zbigniew Okonski has said that two commanders from the military unit stationed at Warsaw-Bemowo are to be suspended in connection with the recent theft of arms from the unit. In an interview for Polish Radio, the minister added that possible further consequences will ensue when the investigation being carried out by the voivodship prosecutor's office in Warsaw and the Office of the Military Prosecutor have been completed. Okonski feels the armaments held at the air squadron in Bemowo, in Warsaw, were correctly guarded but that, as he put it, there was a failure of imagination on the part of the superiors of the duty officer who was on duty when the theft took place. In Minister Okonski's view, the commanders did not organize duties in such a way as to prevent possible incidents.

Okonski yesterday received a report prepared by a team of experts from the General Staff of the Polish Army relating to the circumstances of the theft of 75 pistols with ammunition from the military unit stationed at Warsaw-Bemowo. The report contains recommendations for actions that are to prevent the repetition of such events as those in Bemowo. The report has been passed to the president and to the prime minister.

Minister Okonski said that, in association with the theft of armaments from the military unit stationed at Warsaw-Bemowo, he has issued a series of professional instructions that should prevent similar cases in the future. He stressed that arms will be better guarded and that guards will be more vigilant.

[Begin Okonski recording] Part of the personal firearm deposits have been transferred to accommodations guaranteeing better direct protection. It is intended, within a short period of time, to complete the process of revising the instructions and regulations relating to the storage and secure holding of fighting materials and armaments in particular. Vigilance has been greatly strengthened. Instructions have gone out. Soldiers are now very aware, and they will, after issuing a warning, quite simply use their firearms. [end recording]

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Officials Meet With Slovakia's Meciar, Delegation

AU2807154195 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Jul 95 pp 1, 13

[Report by Jan Skoda: "Relations of Special Importance"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar began a two-day visit to Romania yesterday. Apart from four cabinet members, his wide-ranging party also includes 20 prominent managers and—so that we do not leave anyone out—the experts who took part in drafting the basic Slovak-Hungarian treaty.

This combination suggests that the visit is oriented toward the two central themes in Slovak-Romanian relations: economic cooperation and coordinating minority policy in the Central European region and in relation to European institutions. On his arrival at Bucharest's Otopeni Airport, Meciar said in the presence of his host, Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu, that they will also discuss the standard of the rights of people belonging to the ethnic minorities. That is, the interpretation of the Slovak-Hungarian treaty—especially Article 15, which also refers to the contentious Council of Europe Recommendation No. 1201—provides a backdrop for this dialogue. Romania, which has still not managed to reach agreement with Hungary on the wording of the basic bilateral document, is refusing to take the formulation of the Slovak- Hungarian treaty as a starting point. At the same time, four issues are particularly contentious: the Council of Europe Recommendation No. 1201, the so-called school law signed by President Iliescu just a few days ago, the ethnic minorities' right to establish political parties, and, finally, control mechanism for the treaty's fulfillment.

The Slovak Republic and Romania are interested in proceeding jointly, although the signing of the agreement between Meciar and Horn left Bucharest with a "bitter after-taste." The Slovak delegation is now out to explain to its Romanian partners its own interpretation of the treaty with Budapest, if only because the National Council of the Slovak Republic will ratify it in autumn and the Romanian stance on these issues may help Meciar to defend or, alternatively, not defend it before the deputies in Bratislava.

Following his first brief meeting with Vacaroiu, Meciar held talks with Adrian Nastase, the Romanian Assembly of Deputies Speaker and former foreign minister, who is due to visit Slovakia in the second half of this year. After their talks, which lasted almost an hour, Meciar said that he had submitted a proposal to the Romanian side to expand the Central European Free Trade Zone (CEFTA) as of 1996 to include Romania, Bulgaria, and other countries. "Slovakia appreciates the Romanian side's attitude toward the Slovak ethnic minority," said Meciar. He added that Romanian ethnic policy "is absolutely in harmony with all European norms."

The two politicians also discussed preparing treaties with their common neighbor Hungary. "We do not see a starting point in collective rights; on the contrary, they complicate the situation," declared the Slovak prime minister.

Nastase asserted that the Hungarian side alone shoulders the responsibility for the fact that a Romanian-Hungarian basic treaty has not been signed. "The Romanian side has gone quite far," explained Nastase, "even accepting the reference to the Council of Europe Recommendation No. 1201, but, understandably, with the clarification that this does not concern collective rights and territorial autonomy. The Hungarian side, however, has not accepted this compromise formulation, which means that there are certain other aims that cannot be expressed in European language and that are blocking the signing of this treaty." Nastase also stated that, at the moment, Budapest is under pressure and is ever more willing to respect the article on the inviolability of borders.

The two sides agreed at the Meciar-Nastase meeting to establish expert groups for various spheres, including the minorities issue. Nastase even gave notice of talks on minority policy involving experts from Slovakia, Romania, and, to our surprise, Serbia. Slovak Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk later explained that this was to be one of several expert groups in the sphere of relations on a non-governmental level.

An official working meeting of the two government delegations chaired by Prime Ministers Meciar and Vacaroiu followed next. At its beginning, the host referred to the "exceptional relations" between the two countries and congratulated his opposite number on his 53d birthday, which he celebrated yesterday. "Birthday boy" Meciar described Slovak-Romanian relations as "relations of special importance" and he particularly praised the progress in coordinating foreign policy along the lines of the European integration process.

Schenk told reporters that, in this "introductory meeting" (by the way, it lasted for about 90 minutes), the two sides concurred in the view that the level of relations between them was good, but this level could not be regarded as their potential peak. They listed integration into European structures and the effort to cooperate in the Central European region among Slovak and Romanian priorities. A whole series of specific questions arose from this. They will be discussed further in Bucharest.

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Within the framework of the visit, Minister Schenk held talks in the afternoon with his Romanian counterpart Teodor Melescanu, and Slovak Economy Minister Jan Ducky held talks with Romanian Trade Minister P. Crisan [name as published]. In particular, the issue involves the ratification in the Romanian Parliament of the agreements on preventing double taxation and protecting investments. This should take place before the end of the year. The talks also concern new projects, for example, in transportation, an area where [Slovak Transportation] Minister Alexander Rezes will be given the floor.

Meciar met with Romanian Senate Chairman Oliviu Gherman in the early evening. The meeting at the Slovak Embassy in Bucharest involving our government delegation and representatives of the more than 20,000-strong Slovak minority in Romania was of a completely different nature. We have ascertained that, at yesterday's talks, the Slovak side did not ask for an explanation of the contents of the new school law, which, in the opinion of the leaders of the almost 2-million-strong Hungarian minority, is "discriminatory and does not correspond to European norms."

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Talks With U.S. Delegation Assessed 'Favorably'

AU2807153695 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 28 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A delegation of the U.S. State and Defense Departments is paying an official visit to Slovenia today. Foreign Ministry State Secretary Ignac Golob, together with his U.S. guests, held a news conference today. Here is a report by Tomaz Gerden:

[Begin recording] [Gerden] The head of the U.S. delegation, Eric Nielsen, assistant U.S. Secretary of State, assessed the talks with the Slovene side very favorably. [passage omitted]

State Secretary Ignac Golob also gave a positive assessment of the talks:

[Golob] Our side, too, values highly the talks that we had today. We also value highly the information about various aspects of the security situation that we received. We hope that this is only the first step within a system of regular consultations between the United States and the Republic of Slovenia on these issues. [end recording]

Replacement of Army Commander Postponed Until Autumn

AU2807154095 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 28 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The government cadre commission held a session in Ljubljana today. As it has been reported, the commission has, for the time being, rejected an initiative by Defense Minister Jelko Kacin to appoint current Defense Ministry State Secretary Bojan Suligoj to the post of commander of the Slovene Army General Staff in place of Albin Gutman.

The proposed replacement will be debated in autumn and, by then, the Defense Ministry will draft a more extensive explanation. The government, too, will not discuss the proposal of cadre changes at its session next week.

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Federal

Washington Denies Arming Bosnian Muslims

LD2907061795 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0308 GMT 29 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Washington, July 28 (TANJUG)—Washington on Friday denied reports that the United States was supplying the Bosnian Muslim army with arms.

Asked if the United States was violating the international arms embargo, as the WASHINGTON POST had reported earlier, U.S. President Bill Clinton simply said 'no' and gave no comments.

Clinton's official spokesman Mike McCurry also denied these claims and added that the Administration did not have any information that third countries were providing U.S. weaponry to the Bosnian Muslims.

The WASHINGTON POST on Friday carried a detailed report, quoting Western and U.S. intelligence sources, about deliveries of U.S. weaponry to Bosnia and the U.S. orchestration of such shipments via third countries, mostly Muslim ones.

The daily also printed accusations by Western allies, primarily France and Great Britain, that U.S. General John Sewall was directly assisting the Muslim army with strategic and other advice, and that the United States had provided the necessary data and instructions when military equipment was dropped at Tuzla airfield by 'mysterious' planes, believed to be of Turkish origin.

McCurry said the administration was categorically denying these allegations and that it had also underscored this in direct contacts with its allies.

U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke on Friday told the House of Representatives International Relations Committee that the U.S. was 'not arranging, coordinating, overseeing or participating in covert supply (of weaponry) to the Bosnian (Muslim) Government.'

The U.S. Senate decided to end the U.S. participation in the arms ban for Bosnian Muslims with a two-thirds majority on Wednesday.

U.S. Avoids Official Condemnation of Zagreb

LD2807204895 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2034 GMT 28 Jul 95

[TANJUG headline—U.S. Avoids Condemnation of Croatia; "Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Washington, July 28 (TANJUG)—Official Washington did not condemn the offensive of regular Croatian Army on Friday in southwestern Bosnia in an attempt to switch the blame for the event to the Serb side.

Official White House spokesman Mike McCurry tried Friday at a press briefing to avoid condemning Croatia.

Asked how Washington reacted to the Croatian incursion, he explained that the agreement on the Muslim-Croat Federation in Bosnia envisaged defense cooperation between the Muslims and Croats overlooking the fact—also in possession of U.S. Administration—that it was the regular Croatian Army which occupied the towns of Grahovo and Glamoc.

Muslim-Croat Federation, created under strong U.S. pressure, never came to life as a state but was amply being used for joint fight against the Serbs, for which reason it had been formed in the first place.

U.S. State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns did much the same as McCurry interpreting the reports about the Croatian offensive as a response to the 'legitimate' request by the Muslim Sarajevo government for help.

Blaming Bosnian Serbs, Burns stated concern that war may spread to Croatia.

Great Britain Seen Threatening Bosnian Serbs

LD2507151295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1450 GMT 25 Jul 95

["Britain Threatens Bosnian Serbs With Tough Military Action"—TANJUG headline]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] London, July 25 (TANJUG)—Britain has warned the Bosnian Serbs that it will take tough military action if they try to capture British troops in Gorazde, the British foreign ministry said Tuesday.

The decision, which was taken independently from other Western countries, was conveyed to Bosnian Serb commander Gen. Ratko Mladic on Sunday by British Air Force Commander Marshal William Wratten.

British military circles fear that Bosnian Serb troops might capture 300 British peacekeepers deployed to the Moslem enclave of Gorazde in eastern Bosnia, if their positions are bombed.

Among the U.N. Protection Force personnel captured by Bosnian Serb troops following the bombing of Pale, the Bosnian Serb political centre, in late May, there were also British peacekeepers.

Foreign Office analysts believe that the situation will not take such a turn, laying great hopes in Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev's peace mission.

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After meeting with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic in Belgrade on Monday, Kozyrev said hostilities in Bosnia-Herzegovina must cease, but only through peace efforts. He said Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Milosevic also shared this view.

A Foreign Office official said the British Defence Ministry ruled out the possibility that the current mandate of the U.N. peace mission to Bosnia-Herzegovina might be altered.

Government Condemns Croatian 'Aggressive Behavior'

LD3007113495 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1112 GMT 30 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 30 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Goverment expressed deep concern Sunday over the escalation of military activities in Bosnia-Herzegovina and sharply condemned the aggressive behaviour of Croatia, whose regular army troops are fighting in the former Yugoslav republic.

The Yugoslav Government held a special session and 'sharply condemned the aggressive behaviour of Croatia, whose regular Armed Forces have for quite some time been active in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina in direct violation of relevant U.N. Security Council resolutions,' a federal Information Ministry statement said.

The Yugoslav Government stressed that Croatia's participation in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina 'dangerously spurs the war option and seriously undermines the international community's efforts to end the crisis and reach a peaceful solution.'

'It is therefore necessary that the international community secure an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Croatia's Armed Forces from Bosnia-Herzegovina,' the Yugoslav Government assessed.

It underscored that the Bosnian crisis could be resolved solely by political means and not through continued war and new confrontations.

The Yugoslav Government called on 'the international community to adopt an objective and balanced stand towards the crisis and treat all sides involved in the civil war as equals,' the statement said.

Consistent to its commitment to peace and an equitable political solution to the crisis, the Yugoslav Government maintains that 'the current dangerous escalation of military activities must be countered with a decisive international political action to halt the negative development and renew the peace process.'

The Yugoslav Goverment takes the view that it is indispensable 'to secure an immediate and unconditional moratorium on all military activities on all of Bosnia-Herzegovina territory, as a prelude to reaching a general agreement on the cessation of military hostilities.'

The Yugoslav Government expects 'of all competent factors of the international community to help eliminate the current tensions and renew talks as the sole means of resolving the crisis.'

Lilic Addresses Officers at Promotion Ceremony

Favors Urgent B-H Talks

LD2907154595 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1515 GMT 29 Jul 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 29 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav President Zoran Lilic said Saturday it was necessary immediately to invite the warring sides in the former Yugoslavia to the negotiating table, without insisting on setting conditions.

This is necessary in view of the present dangerous escalation of the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina and potential danger of another Croatian-Serb Krajina conflict, Lilic said in Belgrade, at a ceremony marking the promotion into officers of military academy graduates.

The Croatian Army launched an aggression on the western part of the Bosnian Serb Republic and on Friday seized the towns of Glamoc and Grahovo. The Croatian Army also attacked Serb Krajina and on Friday shelled civilian settlements 20 km from the Serb Krajina capital of Knin.

A total of 20,000 Serb civilians from the region around Glamoc and Grahovo are on the run.

'There can certainly be no lasting peace if interests of a people are completely neglected and attempts are being made to impose a solution with force and threats,' Lilic said.

He said that in order to restore peace in the region, it was necessary that the international community abandon the policy of double standards and siding with one party to the conflict.

'We believe that the ending of the conflicts, both in former Bosnia-Herzegovina and in former Croatia, depends primarily on their participants themselves. Our country supports any solution which the sides in the conflict would reach in talks, on the basis of full equality and respect of legitimate interests of all sides in the dispute,' Lilic said.

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Yugoslavia has always started with the principle that a lasting solution to misunderstandings and conflicts in the former Yugoslavia can be reached only peacefully.

'However, although Yugoslavia has opted for peace and fulfilled the demands from the relevant Security Council resolutions, it is still under the regime of sanctions, while at the same time, behaviour of others who resort to force remains unpunished,' Lilic said.

Such imbalance cannot be maintained for ever, Lilic said and added that the lifting of the sanctions against Yugoslavia was one of the most important preconditions for a final political solution of the conflict.

Lilic said that the Yugoslav Armed Forces were 'respectable, ready and able to defend Yugoslavia's sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence and constitutional order.'

'Those who have different opinion are greatly mistaken,' Lilic said.

Lilic told the young officers that Yugoslavia's current situation called for the highest degree of readiness and decisiveness in the fulfilling of tasks.

Comments on Lifting Sanctions

AU2907152895 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 29 Jul 95

[Report by Radovan Pantovic on the address by FRY President Zoran Lilic to newly-graduated Yugoslav Army officers and their parents at the Military Academy in Belgrade on 29 July—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

[Lilic] Rest assured that the expert ability and youthful enthusiasm of your sons and the other members of their units will never be directed at endangering the freedom and independence of other nations and states, but exclusively at preserving the peace and prosperity of the FRY. I believe that you will continue to offer your full support so that they can do their best on their new duty in the units and institutions of the Yugoslav Army.

Gentlemen officers and esteemed guests, the first and basic goal of the FRY is to progress in peace. There is no progress and cultural development without peace. Guided by this irrefutable truth, the FRY has been committed to a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis ever since it broke out. In its overall engagement, our country has always worked from the principle that conflicts and misunderstandings in the former Yugoslavia can only be permanently solved through peaceful means. With such a peaceloving and effective policy, the FRY has become a strong factor of stability in the Balkans, and a reliable and unavoidable factor in the peace process. Accepting all the peace plans so far, the FRY has shown that it does not support the war option. We have supported the Contact Group plan in the conviction that it is a realistic and a principled enough basis for the establishment of peace in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, and in other parts of the former Yugoslavia.

However, even though the FRY is committed to peace, even though it has met all the conditions of the relevant Security Council resolutions, our country is still under the sanctions regime, while at the same time the behavior of others that resort to force goes unpunished. The maintenance of sanctions just shows that some of the most influential members of the international community are still not prepared—for reasons best known to themselves—to respond in an adequate way to the peace-loving policy of Yugoslavia. This has been reflected in the great discrepancy between what the FRY has been doing, and what the international community is giving in return. This imbalance cannot go on forever.

[Pantovic] The lifting of the sanctions against the FRY is one of the most significant preconditions for the final establishment of a just, lasting, and peaceful solution to the crisis, President Lilic assessed. That is why it is justified to expect that the international community should respond in an adequate way to our contribution and our active role in the peace process, and lift the sanctions completely.

[Lilic] We believe that the halt to the hostilities in both the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and in the former Croatia depends primarily on the factors involved in the hostilities. Our country supports any solutions that the warring sides reach through negotiations, on the basis of full equality and respect for the interests of all the sides in the conflict. At the same time, to establish peace in this region it is important that the international community should abandon the policy of double standards and partiality toward one side. It should also find the courage to seek the solution that will treat equally the realistic and justified interests of all the sides in the conflict on the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and the former Croatia.

Keeping in mind the current dangerous situation in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the potential danger of new clashes breaking out between Croatia and the Republic of Serbian Krajina, we believe that it is necessary to call immediately on the warring sides to sit at the negotiating table—without any conditions—which would be the best indicator of each side's commitment to peace. There can of course be no lasting peace if the interests of one nation as a whole are

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neglected, and there is an attempt at imposing the solution by force and threats.

The FRY has been using all its authority and skills to have the crisis in the former Yugoslavia solved in a peaceful way. The international community has to realize that peace can be achieved quickly and effectively through the lifting of the sanctions against the FRY, and the equal treatment of the sides to the conflict. This is in our view the only solution. Everything else leads to the escalation of the war. [passage omitted]

Kontic on Lifting Sanctions, Halting Hostilities

AU2807171595 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1605 GMT 28 Jul 95

[Report by Ratko Bojic and Milenko Ilic]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] During his talks with Subotica businessmen and politicians this afternoon, Federal Prime Minister Kontic said that the harvest of wheat from 2.3 million hectares will earn $3.5 million, and that the corn yield will also be better than last year.

After presenting the information that the gross national product in the first half of this year was 5 percent higher than that of last year, Prime Minister Kontic presented the views of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on the current events in the war-stricken parts of the previous Yugoslavia:

[Begin recording] Let me repeat, the way out must be sought through halting all hostilities, immediately and without any conditions, and through direct talks of the warring parties. In this, of course, one must effect equal treatment of all warring sides and search for compromises that would take into account the essential interests of the warring parties, as well as remove the key causes of the crisis in this region.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is ready to make a full contribution to this process. It can make this contribution optimally only in the conditions of the international community's sanctions being lifted. The lifting of the sanctions would in fact facilitate the biggest contribution to peace in this region and discourage those forces that favor the war option. [end recording]

Tonight, Prime Minister Kontic will meet the participants in the Palic film festival.

Supreme Defense Council Views Regional Situation

LD2907144995 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1427 GMT 29 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 29 Jul (TANJUG)—A session of the Supreme Defense Council was held in Belgrade today, the military office of the president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia announced.

At the session, chaired by FRY President Zoran Lilic, the Council discussed the current military and political situation in the region. The Supreme Defense Council also examined a number of other issues within its competence.

Apart from members of the Supreme Defense Council, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic, the session was attended by Prime Minister Radoje Kontic, Federal Defense Minister Pavle Bulatovic and Chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army, Colonel General Momcilo Perisic.

Statistics Institute Reports 49 Percent Price Rise

AU3007191295 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 30 Jul 95

[Report by Svetlana Vojnovic]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Over the last seven months there has been a price increase of about 49 percent on average in the FRY. According to the Federal Institute for Statistics, in July alone in comparison to June retail prices have jumped by 6.6 percent. Only the prices of agricultural goods have come down by 24 percent. The prices of bread and pastry have remained the same, while the highest price increase has been registered in the communal services, 33.1 percent.

As for food, milk is 23 percent more expensive, cooking oil 67.2 percent, veal with bones 24.9 percent, while the price of sugar has jumped by 61.4 percent.

While a pair of women's shoes cost 100 dinars in January, today the same pair is 150 dinars. Shirts that now cost 80 dinars, were 50 dinars at the beginning of the year. [passage omitted]

Serbia

U.S. Senate Arms Embargo Decision Condemned

AU3007200795 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jul 95 p 2

[Commentary by Boro Maric: "Games With Gunpowder"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The smell of gunpowder is again permeating the Balkans.

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The U.S. Senate yesterday voted with a two-thirds majority to annul—only for the Muslim Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina—the UN arms embargo on all the republics of former Yugoslavia.

On the same day UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali lost the right to decide on NATO air strikes on the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. Instead of him, NATO bombers will be called in by French General Bernard Janvier, commander of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] in former Yugoslavia.

The open Croatian intervention in the Bosnia-Herzegovina war, and its public preparations for an attack on the Republic of Serbian Krajina have been blessed, by all accounts, by the leading world powers—the United States and Germany.

These moves by the Western powers have pushed the region of the former Yugoslavia toward new bloodshed, ethnic cleansing, and destruction. This bloody scenario has designated the role of the loser for the Serb people in the former—and quite possibly—the present Yugoslavia. However, others will also come out as losers.

This conclusion is the result of everything the international powers have done and failed to do from the outset of the Yugoslav crisis.

For example, against all norms of international law they recognized the secessionist republics of Croatia and Slovenia, as well as Bosnia-Herzegovina. They imposed sanctions against the FRY—isolating it almost completely from the rest of the world—in the hope that both it and the ruling regimes in its republics would collapse under them.

The United Nations has never even tried to punish the attacks and crimes by the Republic of Croatia on the territory of the Republic of Serbian Krajina since the signing of the Vance Plan onward, despite the fact that the Croatian Army has killed hundreds of civilians in the Medak pocket, in Lika, and in western Slavonia.

All in all, those who make decisions in the world have, through their acts, been on the side of the enemies of the Republic of Serbian Krajina and the Serb Republic, at the same time they have dealt ruthlessly with the FRY.

The latest decisions by the world powers, and particularly the United States, have added more fuel on "the Balkan fire," in the hope that the war—started four years ago in Slovenia and Croatia—would burn out the Serb states west of the Drina, or spill over into Serbia.

Were that to happen, the entire Balkans will go up in flames, and little in the world will ever be the same again.

Milosevic, Stoltenberg Discuss Political Solution

LD2907181295 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1738 GMT 29 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 29 Jul (TANJUG)—Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia, has received Thorvald Stoltenberg, co-chairman of the International Conference on Former Yugoslavia, who arrived in Belgrade this afternoon.

The talks focussed on the current political situation in the region and attempts directed at reviving the negotiating process, with the aim of eliminating any confrontations and tension, and establishing peace in former Yugoslavia.

Events in the past few weeks and days, President Milosevic said, illustrated all the absurdity of a civil war and the sufferings of the people. One cannot wait for leaders of the warring sides to realize for themselves that there is no such thing as a military settlement of the crisis, but only a political one. To this aim we must be more radical in implementing a policy of peace—in the interest of all nations and countries in the region—before a military option is implemented.

They expressed hope that—in the interest of progress and a political settlement of the crisis—the international community would resolutely embark on the course of peace and deescalation of the conflict.

Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic also took part in the talks.

Markovic Views Chances for Peace in Bosnia

AU2707131595 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 25 Jul 95 pp 1, 11

[Interview with Mirjana Markovic, head of the United Yugoslav Left (JUL), by Julius Lorincz, in Belgrade "at the end of last week:" "There Cannot Be Peace as Long as the Extremists Rule in Bosnia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the end of last week, the movement called simply the United Yugoslav Left (JUL) organized an international conference of democratically and left-oriented forces on the possibilities of stability and cooperation in the Balkans, which is, given the present situation, a courageous, almost visionary undertaking. The chairman of the JUL Directorate is Mira Markovic, the wife of one of the best known politicians on the Balkan peninsula, Serbia's Slobodan Milosevic. She does not grant newspaper interviews often, but she decided to answer the questions of a PRAVDA reporter.

[Lorincz] Let me first ask you, how are you to be addressed? Mrs. or comrade?

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[Markovic] Among left-wingers, it is not a problem. A friend who attended a British Labor Party conference recently told me that they all addressed one another as comrade. Are the Labor Party members really even further to the left than we are?

[Lorincz] On the other hand, our people have always been surprised when social democrats from Western Europe visit and also use comrade as a form of address....

[Markovic] Fine, but you have the Mrs. and the Mr. That is nice, I like it.

[Lorincz] At an international conference on Balkan problems, you said that local peoples must look more forward to the future than back to the past, for this looking at the past is precisely one of the reasons for the conflicts within Yugoslav territory. Nevertheless, politicians in these republics were speaking more about the future as they proclaimed their orientation towards the independence and sovereignty of the republics.

[Markovic] Nonetheless, they were inspired to proclaim independence by the past—even the medieval past—when we lived divided. Yes, I also said that all the eastern European nations, i.e., not only the Balkans, have returned to the Middle Ages. This is true from the economic, political, and spiritual points of view. We are, in fact, reviving the ancient past. It is as if all the European nations were competing to see which will be the most conservative one.

[Lorincz] Why has this happened, why do you think it is so?

[Markovic] It is because instead of implementing radical changes towards new things in the political, economic, technical, and cultural senses at a time when all of Europe was facing great changes, because of lack of ability to conceive new things, solutions were sought in the old and outdated. All of Europe was facing the necessary reform of socialism, but this required a great effort in analytic thinking. What will the new stage of socialism look like? A clear idea of it did not exist, yet, under external pressure, changes were brought about that, because of the lack of a vision of the new future, actually became a return to the past.

[Lorincz] The entire system of a certain "state, bureaucratic socialism" was disintegrating. At times, however, it seems as if the individual components of the left forces in these countries tended to repeat the errors of the recent past.

[Markovic] Nonetheless, I believe that only new left-wing forces can bring eastern Europe out of the misfortune that had befallen it. First of all, they must be united. Second, this left wing must have a new idea of the arrangement of society from the economic, political, and cultural points of view. The new left wing should be tolerant and patient, because everything that the right-wing forces have destroyed over several capitalist years cannot be repaired at once. Even the best left wing could not do this and the best are not coming through; it is more of a confused left wing that would like to be the left wing but in fact is not. It flirts with civic parties, capitalism, nationalism, etc. The left wing must, above all, attain its identity based on the new vision of the future society. Moreover, the left wing must be organized in a new way, for, I believe, the time of the socialist, communist, social- democratic, and workers' parties is past. They emerged in the second half of the last century and, at the threshold of the 21st century, the time is ripe for a major left-wing movement that would unite on the basis of a new idea of the arrangement of society.

[Lorincz] It sounds as if you were referring to the "third way." Do you believe that the third way exists?

[Markovic] Yes, I refer to the third way, which is based on the most progressive ideas of socialism and civic society. After all, whatever is good in bourgeois society actually comes from the left. Were it not for socialism, fear of the East and the socialist countries, capitalism would have remained in its original brutal form for perhaps another 1,000 years. Under this influence capitalism humanized, acquired a more social form, and gained its best features that are, so to speak, competitive today. Despite everything, socialism undoubtedly also left a great favorable experience: equality at work, free education, social stability, etc.

The combined favorable experience of human civilization—that is the key to the third approach to the new world, and while its name is completely irrelevant, it is important that it is a world in which people can live in peace and as equals.

[Lorincz] What is the attitude of the Yugoslav left wing, which you head, toward the present authorities, to the government in Yugoslavia, in Serbia? I am asking, among other reasons, because you are the wife of President Slobodan Milosevic, a leading personality of the strongest political entity, the Socialist Party of Serbia....

[Markovic] Do not connect the two. The Yugoslav left wing is open to all left-wing and democratic parties and organizations in our country and it is extremely antagonistic toward all nationalist, chauvinist, and pro-fascist parties. Let us hope that we will manage further to unite the former of those I mentioned. There are 23 parties in our movement now and many individuals without party affiliations. I can tell you frankly that we

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did not expect to gain such great support in a single year of our existence or to have so many people join us. At the same time, it is obvious that people do not perceive us as a party but rather as a movement that unites progressive people who are oriented towards peace, tolerance, cooperation, and equality among blocs of nations and individual people. Equality among nations is of particular importance to us because were it not for national irreconcilability and hatred, Yugoslavia would not have disintegrated.

[Lorincz] You have referred to national hatred....

[Markovic] Yes, the right wing on the Balkan peninsula is leaning towards nationalism: a primitive, aggressive, and bellicose nationalism that can develop into fascism.

[Lorincz] Do you include here also Serbia and Croatia...?

[Markovic] I mean the entire Balkans.

[Lorincz] How will all that is now happening in the Balkans end? I am referring also to the ethnic cleansing, with Karadzic's soldiers taking over Srebrenica, for instance, and telling the Muslims that they advise them to leave....

[Markovic] And where are they to go?

[Lorincz] That is also my question.

[Markovic] Why do you ask me? I am not Karadzic. Peace is impossible there as long as extreme nationalists head the Muslims and the Serbs. They started the war and they are waging it. This applies to both sides. They cannot stop it and so the war will only end when people come to lead the two nations who are not extremists and do not hate others but rather have some understanding for them.

[Lorincz] The problem is that nationalists hold power and the arms.

[Markovic] You know what? If the nation supports them and does not overthrow them, let it take the consequences of its passivity regarding power.

[Lorincz] Do you believe that people and forces exist there who would be able to negotiate and reach an understanding among the nations?

[Markovic] Of course, there are. Why not?!

[Lorincz] After all that has happened? After the killing, the explosion of hatred, and the war?

[Markovic] Why do you say after the war? Do you know what happened to the Serbian nation between 1941 and 1945? It was divided into Chetniks and partisans, but there were not two states after the war—one in which only the Chetniks would live and another one just for the partisans. The civil war.... I will tell you, it is not even a civil war because they are not real citizens. It is a kind of tribal war. The worst thing is that those most affected are children, women, and young people. That is the worst feature of this war.

Democratic Party on Bosnian Conflict Settlement

AU2807151195 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 28 Jul 95

[Report by Vera Rakin]

[FBIS Translated Text] At a regular news conference, Zoran Djindjic, president of the Democratic Party, spoke about the party's views on the situation in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. Vera Rakin reports:

[Rakin] The Democratic Party takes the view that the situation in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina is at a turning point, which leads either to a total war or total peace, as the war is being fought on all lines of separation more fiercely than in the past three years, Zoran Djindjic stressed.

Nevertheless, he still holds the view the signals from Moscow, Paris, and London indicate that the international community wants to settle the crisis in a peaceful way.

The three parallel initiatives—the French on the correction of maps, the Russian on direct negotiations among the warring parties, and the U.S.-British initiative that represents some kind of correction of the Contact Group's plan—should be amalgamated into one package and a diplomatic and peace offensive should be embarked upon in the days ahead.

This plan must clearly state that, in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, there exist the Serb Republic and the Muslim-Croat federation as the clearly formed states. The plan must contain guarantees for the state and political sovereignty of these two communities. The plan must have three elements: a political element, the lifting of the sanctions on Yugoslavia and the Serb Republic, and direct negotiations by the warring parties about territories.

The Democratic Party holds the view that the existence of a loose union between the Serb Republic and the Muslim-Croat federation would not hinder the desire of the Serb people for self-determination and would be acceptable to the international community, Zoran Djindjic concluded.

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Kosovo

Rugova: Clinton's Commitment 'Very Important'

AU2807210195 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 28 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President of the Republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said at a press conference today in Prishtina [Pristina] that the question of Kosova continued to call attention of diplomatic circles in United States and European countries. He hailed a statement by the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke, who cited prevention of the conflict spreading to Kosova and other countries in the Balkans among the successes of the U.S. Administration's record. Commenting on the approval by the U.S. Senate of a bill on the lifting of arms embargo on Bosnia, President Rugova said it was warning and counsel to the international community for reaching a faster peaceful solution for Bosnia and other crises in the former Yugoslavia. Dr. Rugova said the commitment of U.S. President Clinton (to the crisis in the Balkans) was very important and expressed his hope that peace will be established in the lands of former Yugoslavia.

President Rugova called on the Russian diplomacy to have understanding for the interests of all peoples in the Balkans and to play a constructive role in keeping with the challenges of the time.

President Rugova denounced the mounting Serbian repression in Kosova, which has embraced all spheres of life and all strata of the population. He demanded an immediate release of Albanian political prisoners. Dr. Rugova also denounced the continued Serbian regime's campaign of colonization of Kosova.

In view of the very grave situation in Kosova, President Rugova reiterated his call for an urgent halt of Serbian repression and for an international protection of Kosova. An independent and neutral Kosova, open towards Albania and Serbia, is the best solution to the Kosova issue, President of the Republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova underscored.

Ending his remarks today, President Rugova praised the publication of two significant books on the history on the Albanians, one by the American author, Dr. Edwin Jacques, from North Carolina, and one by the Kosova Albanian author, Dr. Muhamet Trrnava.

Asked to comment on the stepped up Serbian colonization campaign, in the wake of a recent settlement of 76 Serb families at the Lume i Madh/Velika Reka village of Vushtrri [Vucitrn], President Rugova said it (colonization) is aimed at changing the ethnic distribution in Kosova, naturally, at the detriment of Albanians. International institutions should know that there are numerous programs and schemes of the Serbian regime to serve this purpose, Dr. Rugova said, and requested an immediate cessation of the colonization campaign.

"The U.S. presence in the Republic of Albania is part of the overall good diplomatic and military relations between the United States and Albania. The U.S. presence in Albania serves peace and stability in the region," President Rugova said in reply to a question.

President Rugova said the resigning of the UN Human Rights Special Rapporteur Tadeusz Mazowiecki was a warning of a humanist to the international community. He said he appreciated what Mr. Mazowiecki has done for Kosova and for the rights of the peoples in former Yugoslavia. "Mr. Mazowiecki will remain a great humanist in our memories and in the history of the European nations," President Rugova said today in Prishtina.

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